Daily Report

East Europe

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U.S. Election Results Viewed as 'Continuity'

AU1111195288 Sofia ZEMEDELSKO ZNAME in Bulgarian 10 Nov 88 p 4

[Borislav Kosturkov article: "Expected and Logical"]

[Text] The convincling victory of 64-year old George Bush in the U.S. presidential elections was expected and is logical. It was expected because in all opinion polls (regardless of how relative they might be), the candidate of the Republican Party was far ahead of his competitor. The victory was logical because Bush's success is based on his platform, which was entirely composed of the successes achieved by the Republican government under Ronald Reagan.

It is true that in his election campaign a candidate for such a high-ranking, leading post is usually expected to submit a platform of changes rejecting all things of the past and pledging to introduce innovations. The case with Bush was quite different. His basic arguments were based on the economic and political successes of the previous White House team. This experienced politician and his staff are well aware of the fact that voters in Western countries, and especially in the United States, are mostly motivated by their own economic interests when they are voting. It was precisely over the last 8 years that the unemployment rate in the United States was halved and inflation was halted within a 3.5 percent limit, while a recession was averted.

In declaring that he would follow a line of policy similar to that of the present administration, George Bush undoubtedly relied on the successes achieved in foreign policy—especially regarding the constructive dialogue with the USSR, which led to the INF Treaty and to the process of settling certain regional conflicts. Thus, in voting for Bush, American voters seemed to cast a "secret," third vote in favor of California's former governor—something which is not envisaged in the U.S. Constitution.

I should stress at once that the new man in the "Oval Office" intends to add his own touches to the policy of his predecessor, but at the same time "have it both ways." Regarding the struggle against the "chink in the U.S. economy's armor", namely the question of the great budget deficit amounting to $155.1 billion, George Bush promises not to increase, but only "to flexibly freeze" certain items. He declares that he will not touch military expenditures and will go ahead with Reagan's expensive program, so as not to shock the influential military-industrial complex. Simultaneously he claims that his administration will be "devoted to educational issues," with special care for the health sector and for certain social welfare programs—thus giving some hope to the socially weak strata in the United States.

Against this background, fearing to be accused of being a liberal, Michael Dukakis, the candidate of the Democratic Party, was unable to propose anything interesting and truly different from the platform of his competitor that would have demonstrated his own political profile. This is the reason, why his slogan: "The best is yet to come for America!" was not sufficient to help him achieve his goal.

After officially assuming his post after the inauguration ceremony on 20 January 1989 Bush, and his team will certainly have to cope with numerous problems. They will have to account to the Democratic majority, both in the Senate and in the House of Representatives, which became even more consolidated after the present elections.

As to the behavior of the United States on the international scene, Bush's victory certainly facilitates the continuity in Washington's foreign policy. His statements in support of the trend toward signing new agreements with the USSR in the disarmament sector and his personal participation in the dialogue with Moscow in the recent past, should now be substantiated by the practical actions of his new administration. This will be to the benefit of peace and international security.

Mladenov Pays Official Visit to Luxembourg

Begins Talks With Poos

AU1011201388 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1830 GMT 10 Nov 88

[Text] Today Foreign Minister Petur Mladenov arrived in Luxembourg for an official 2-day visit.

The main subject of the talks that he has begun with Jacques Poos, deputy prime minister and minister of foreign affairs of Luxembourg, is the development of relations between Bulgaria and Luxembourg.

Minister Petur Mladenov had a meeting with Enrico Vinci, chief secretary of the West European Parliament, who laid stress on the developing relations between Bulgaria and the EEC.

More on Poos Meeting

AU1111104388 Sofia BTA in English 0834 GMT 11 Nov 88

[Text] Luxembourg, November 11 (BTA correspondent)—During the official talks held here between Mr Petur Mladenov, minister of foreign affairs, and Mr Jacques Poos, deputy premier and minister of foreign affairs of Luxembourg, the condition of the relations between the two countries was found to be good. Bulgaria's foreign minister pointed out that there are possibilities for cooperation which are still not made use of, especially in the field of economy, where the two countries do not know much about each other as partners. Mr Jacques Poos shared his guest's opinion on Bulgaro-Luxembourg relations, expressing his dissatisfaction with their development in the sphere of trade and economy.

Minister Petur Mladenov expressed his hope that Luxembourg will support Bulgaria in her efforts to conclude an agreement for cooperation with the E.E.C. and to be admitted to membership in General Agreement on Taxation and Trade.(G.A.T.T.).

Luxembourg is one of the world banking centers and a branch of the Bulgarian Foreign Trade Bank could be opened in it, Mr Jacques Poos said.

He pointed out that his country's attitude to Bulgaria's initiative aimed at cooperation with the E.C. and G.A.T.T. is positive and that she will back Bulgaria's efforts along these lines.

He accepted an invitation to pay a visit to Bulgaria.

Discussing international problems, the two foreign ministers underlined the importance of the Soviet-American Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate and Short-Range Missiles in Europe. They voiced a shared opinion that the I.N.F. Treaty must be followed up by other steps aimed at control over armament, such as abolition of chemical weapons, balancing the conventional weapons possessed by the East and West and reduction of strategic nuclear weapons.

They spoke in favor of the completion of the Vienna Follow-up Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe in the near future with the signature of a balanced final document.

Today Mr. Petur Mladenov had a meeting with Mr Enrico Vinci, secretary general of the West European Parliament.

During this first visit of a Bulgarian minister to the Secretariat of the Parliament which has its headquarters in Luxembourg, a shared wish was expressed that the relations between the Bulgarian National Assembly and the West European Parliament, as well as between Bulgaria and the European Community, should be activated.

Minister Petur Mladenov pointed out how important it is to put an end to the division in Europe brought over years ago and emphasized that the peoples in Europe must build their all-European home.

Steps taken in order to achieve this end will predetermine the appearance of our continent for years to come, he said.

On behalf of the National Assembly, Mr Petur Mladenov invited Mr Henry Plumb, chairman of the West European Parliament, and Mr Enrico Vinci to visit Bulgaria.

We are following the development of the relations between Bulgaria and the E.C. with great attention and we consider your visit to the Secretariate of the West European Parliament as an expression of your country's intention to promote her relations both with the Common Market and its Parliament. This is a wish shared by the West European Parliament, Mr Enrico Vinci pointed out.

At the meeting the two sides discussed some concrete steps to be taken in order to activate the contacts between Bulgarian parliamentarians and the deputies of the West European Parliament.

Received by Grand Duke

AU1111162188 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1830 GMT 11 Nov 88

[Text] In Luxembourg today Foreign Minister Petur Mladenov was received by Grand Duke Jean of Luxembourg. The head of state of Luxembourg made a positive assessment of the state of bilateral relations. The meeting took place in a friendly atmosphere.

Petur Mladenov also met with Carlo Meintz, deputy chairman of the Chamber of Deputies of Luxembourg, and with the leaders of the parliamentary groups of the Luxembourg parties. Talks were held on expanding the links between the parliaments of the two countries.

Further on Official Talks

AU1211141488 Sofia BTA in English 2228 GMT 11 Nov 88

[Excerpt] Luxembourg, 11 November (BTA)—The Grand Duke of Luxembourg Jean received today Mr Petur Mladenov, foreign affairs minister of Bulgaria, who is on a visit in this country.

The head of state of Luxembourg gave a positive assessment of relations between Bulgaria and Luxembourg.

On behalf of Mr Todor Zhivkov, president of Bulgaria's State Council, the Bulgarian foreign affairs minister handed an invitation to the grand duke to visit Bulgaria.

The meeting was held in a friendly atmosphere.

Mr Petur Mladenov, the Bulgarian foreign affairs minister, and Mr Carlo Meintz, the deputy president of the Chamber of Deputies in Luxembourg, and the leaders of the parliamentary groups of the parties of Luxembourg, held a talk for the expansion of relations between the Parliaments of Bulgaria and Luxembourg.

The guest was informed about the activities of the Parliament of Luxembourg. Mr Petur Mladenov spoke of the changes taking place in Bulgaria in the various spheres and of the place of the National Assembly of that country in this process.

The two sides exchanged opinions on the need to develop further the steps for overcoming the division in Europe and of the construction of a common European home with the efforts of all people in the continent.

Member of the Politburo of the CC of the BCP and Foreign Affairs Minister Petur Mladenov met with the chairman of the Communist Party of Luxembourg, Rene Urbany. They considered the possibilities for the further consolidation of the traditional good relations between the Bulgarian Communist Party and the Communist Party of Luxembourg. [passage omitted]

Confers With Santer, Returns

AU1111205988 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 2030 GMT 11 Nov 88

[Text] This evening Jacques Santer, prime minister of Luxembourg, received Bulgaria's Foreign Minister Petur Mladenov.

During their conversation they examined the possibilities for expanding and strengthening bilateral relations in different fields. They expressed the common viewpoint that the relations between Bulgaria and Luxembourg could be developed far more dynamically.

On behalf of the Bulgarian Government, Petur Mladenov tendered an invitation to Jacques Santer to visit Bulgaria.

After the meeting, Jacques Santer told a BTA correspondent: We agreed that the relations between our countries should be intensified in the trade and economic sphere, as well as in the fields of culture and tourism. The relations at present between Bulgaria and Luxembourg are excellent, and it is only to the benefit of our peoples that they should be expanded, added the leader of the Luxembourg Government.

This evening Petur Mladenov returned to Bulgaria.

Human Rights Committee Functions Explained

AU1011170488 Sofia OTECHESTVEN FRONT in Bulgarian 10 Nov 88 p 2

[Article by Senior Scientific Fellow Velko Vulkanov, member of the Committee on Human Rights: "The Defense of Human Rights—an Important Trend of Party Policy"]

[Text] The development, implementation, and defense of citizens' rights is one of the strategic trends in the activities of the BCP and our socialist state. A Permanent Commission for the Defense of Citizens' Public Interests and Rights of the National Assembly was established in 1986, and a Public Committee on Human Rights was founded a few months ago.

The Committee on Human Rights was established at a meeting of representatives of the public from all over the country. It is an independent public (nongovernmental) organization. This means that it is not only independent from the system of the state apparatus, but also not subordinate to any other public organization,—it is subordinated solely to the laws of the country and to the moral principles of its members. It is no coincidence that the committee in question is composed of distinguished public figures and representatives of the scientific, arts, and cultural sectors, as well as religious figures, lawyers, and National Assembly deputies. There are no representatives of the administrative apparatus (of executive-administrative organs) in this committee. The committee is registered with the Sofia Rayon Law Court, thus acquiring the status of a legal person. Konstantin Tellalov, a well-known Bulgarian public figure and diplomat, is the chairman of the committee. His Grace Arseniy Metropolitan of Plovdiv, and Efrem Karamfilov, corresponding member of the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences, are its vice-chairmen, and Yuliy Bakhnev, who has an excellent reputation for his long-standing diplomatic activities in the human rights sector, is the chief secretary. The Executive Bureau and the General Assembly are the collective organs of the committee.

The committee's basic goals are determined in its statute. The committee, above all, confirms the spirit of respect for and observance of human rights and man's dignity, and pledges to help to implement these rights in accordance with the basic principles of the socialist constitutional state. The committee contributes to the perfection of our national legislation relating to human rights and to international laws in the area of human rights. The committee concentrates on improving the practice of applying the Bulgarian Constitution, the laws, and other legal acts applying to human rights. It helps to defend the human rights of Bulgarian and foreign citizens in our country and Bulgarian citizens abroad, and expresses its solidarity with foreign citizens abroad who are persecuted for struggling for human rights and against various forms of discrimination, or, because of their participation in national liberation movements, and for their political, scientific, and cultural activities, by rendering assistance to them. At the same time the committee works to consolidate and develop international cooperation on human rights issues. Naturally, the committee cannot be indifferent to the efforts to present the state of human rights in our country in a false light. The committee opposes such attempts and testifies to the truth among the broad public in our country and abroad. One of the essential tasks of the committee is to help to disseminate knowledge about human rights and ways of defending them properly.

The methods by which the committee implements its goals is also a matter of interest. It submits proposals on improving normative acts relating to human rights, investigates warnings submitted by citizens and public organizations regarding violations of their rights, and appeals to the relevant organs and organizations to ensure the elimination of such encroachments. Whenever the committee establishes that state organs, public organizations, or officials have allowed violations of human rights to occur, the committee sends warnings and well-grounded proposals to the National Assembly Commission on the Defense of Public Interests and Citizens' Rights, to the Prosecutor's Office, and to other

legal and control organs. In connection with the violation of human rights in other countries, the committee addresses the respective governmental and nongovernmental organs and organizations, contributing to public initiatives in this respect. The committee submits proposals to national, regional, and international organs and organizations on the adoption of measures aimed at halting gross and mass violations of human rights in other countries and at the strict observance of international obligations that have been assumed. The committee cooperates with the UN human rights organs and establishes contacts with international nongovernmental organs and organizations and affiliated committees in other countries with a view to implementing joint activities for human rights. The committee participates in the establishment of international nongovernmental organizations dealing with human rights, and so forth. In all these activities, the committee collects, analyzes, and submits informative documents about the state of human rights in our country and abroad, and submits proposals to various organizations and mass media on the dissemination of analytical reports, research papers, and other materials on the subject.

As a public organization, the Committee on Human Rights solely applies public forms of exerting influence (because it has no rights in the legal sense of the word). It organizes meetings, conferences, and seminars, as well as "roundtable" discussions, and other such initiatives; it disseminates normative documents and other materials concerning human rights. It issues a "bulletin" through which it briefs the Bulgarian and foreign public on its activities. If necessary, the committee is entitled to establish its own branches in larger towns of our country. The committee is working in close cooperation with other public organizations.

All the activities of the committee take place on a voluntary basis; its members do not receive any financial remuneration. Only a few people who perform the necessary organizational-technical functions are on the payroll. The financial activities of the committee are covered by voluntary donations from public and other nongovernmental organizations, foundations, and private persons, as well as by publishing activities. The account number of the committee is: Bulgarian National Bank-Sofia City, Branch No 421-121-817-001 State Savings Bank 185/5481—Committee on Human Rights.

The address of the Committee on Human Rights headquarters is: Sofia No 12 Narodno Subranie Square.

Bush Presidency Described as 'Great Hope'
AU1411140188 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 10 Nov 88 p 7

[Bedrich Zagar commentary in the "Word on Events" column: "Burden of Legacy"]

[Text] The United States now has its 41st president. George Bush's victory was expected, even though he was perhaps not expected to win by such a convincing majority. Thus, there was no excitement. Already during the election campaign there had been several substantial aspects in Bush's favor among the voters: He had been U.S. vice president for 8 years, and before that had held several important posts in U.S. politics; in the first half of the seventies he was even head of the CIA. Thus he was very well informed indeed about events on the open scene as well as behind the scenes of U.S. politics. Last, but not least, compared with the Democratic candidate, Michael Dukakis, he was of "nobler" social origin: he comes from a very rich family, his father was a senator, and he himself—before he entered the political arena in 1962—became a millionaire as a result of his activities as an entrepreneur. Dukakis might be the governor of the State of Massachusetts, but he is only the son of a Greek immigrant....

Almost all U.S. media described the election campaign as the dirtiest in the history of the United States. The main issues of the country's political and economic life were not addressed in the campaign; personal attacks and mutual mudslinging that were the subjects of discussion. To tell the truth, this was started by George Bush who, in addition to casting doubt on Dukakis' psychological condition, depicted his liberalism as a threat to U.S. security. Liberalism has become sort of a synonym for leftism, a pejorative label, although the U.S. Constitution is based on it as a fundamental political stance.

As soon as it became clear who the new president would be, Bush's vocabulary changed. In his first television appearance yesterday morning, Bush, as president, said that an election campaign is a fight and he expressed his appreciation to the defeated Dukakis and his family for their honesty, and thanked him for the Dukakis clan's telephone congratulations on his election victory. Bush made no reference to his program even in this appearance, not even in rough outline. He only expressed the resolve to work for the "betterment of American society." It is clear from the new president's election campaign and his speech yesterday that he does not want to obligate himself by making specific promises, which created problems for Reagan even though he was president for 8 years. However, he admitted that the acting President Reagan, thanks to his popularity, did much to help him win.

What remains of the Reagan legacy to the president-elect? Views differ on this. The Republicans understandably claim that Reagan was a very successful president because he succeeded in reducing unemployment and inflation. However, their opponents ask: at what price? The deficit in the budget and in terms of trade have tripled. Bush has promised that he will not raise taxes, but he will not be able to reduce the huge deficits without doing so. Poverty and illiteracy increased under Reagan. For a long time now the United States has not had as many homeless and people living below the poverty line as it has today. Some 25 million people are illiterate. This confirms that social items were something of a Cinderella in the state budget, whereas armaments were gulping down immense billions. If he wants to be a candidate in the next election period in 4 years' time, Bush will not be able to avoid solving these problems.

There are some 70 days left until 20 January, when George Bush will move into the White House. By then his staff will have to be complete. That means the government and the president's staff of experts, such as the National Security Agency. So far, the only person he has for sure is his Vice President Dan Quayle, who tagged along during the presidential campaign. Experts are predicting problems for Bush with his young vice president, who might be full of pep, but lacks qualifications. The 64-year-old Bush will have to tame the 41-year-old "hawkish" vice president, the advocate of a "tough policy" vis-a-vis the Soviet Union. James Baker, the current treasury secretary and former adviser of President Reagan in the White House, is generally expected to become secretary of state. James Baker, 58, is an experienced politician, and is linked to Bush by friendship; after all, he was in charge of his election campaign. John Tower, former senator from Texas and chairman of the Senate's Defense Committee, is the candidate for the post of secretary of defense. Since both Bush and Baker are Texans, people in Washington are speaking about Reagan's Californian suite in the White House being replaced by Bush's Texan set.

The Democrats will strengthen their positions in the Senate as well as in the House of Representatives, so one can expect Congress to be a strong opponent of the president. It is the tradition in the United States that when a member of one party is the president, the other party rules the Congress, allegedly to balance the power. The improvement of relations between the United States and the USSR is being assessed as positive, and Bush has promised to continue this policy and see to the reduction of U.S. strategic arsenals. This is a great hope—also for the rest of the world.

Dubcek Travels to Bologna To Receive Degree

Arrives 11 Nov
AU1211151788 Rome ANSA in English 1218 GMT 12 Nov 88

[Text] (ANSA) Bologna, November 12—Former Czechoslovak Communist Party Leader Alexander Dubcek arrived Friday night in the northern Italian town of Bologna, where he will receive an honorary degree in political science, official sources said Saturday.

Dubcek was forcibly removed from office when Warsaw Pact troops occupied the Czechoslovak capital to put an end to the party leader's moves towards democracy, a liberalisation movement known as the "Prague Spring."

Dubcek was sent as Czechoslovakia's ambassador to Turkey for a few months in 1970 but since then has not been allowed to leave the country, where he has been kept well out of the political limelight.

The former party boss made his first journey outside Czechoslovakia in 18 years in a car with a group of lecturers from Bologna's ancient university.

Speaks on Prague Spring

AU1411102788 Rome ANSA in English 1018 GMT 14 Nov 88

[Excerpts] (ANSA) Bologna, Italy, November 14—Alexander Dubcek, the Czechloslovak Communist Party leader whose "Prague Spring" liberalization movement was crushed by Warsaw Pact forces twenty years ago, received an honorary degree in political science from Bologna University Sunday in a medieval ceremony which helped mark the nine hundredth anniversary of the university. [passage omitted]

After presentation by the rector of the doctoral cap, a copy of Aristotle's "Politics," symbolizing knowledge of the art of politics, and a ring, testifying to the alliance with science, the recipient of the degree delivered in his language a few pages of the twelve-page speech prepared for the occasion and distributed to the assembly in translation.

In one of the keynote passages, Dubcek said that in the program for his party in April 1968 was "the objective of unity, the synthesis of democracy and humanism with socialism in all our concrete activity. The meaning and content of our political program was service for man, for the people, we expressed respect for human values."

He also affirmed that at that time, "we had learned that the key to overcoming the crisis, to make society richer in all senses, was not found exclusively in the economic sphere, and not even especially there. The key was and remains in politics.

"We attempted and laid the cornerstone of a system which could express and join together the rich variety of opinion and the multiplicity of interests. We made efforts to transform the incessant struggle 'against something' into positive programs 'for something' without, however, negatively inscribing on the social structure of the country which was already profoundly changed.

"Today every form of dialogue is inadmissible. In the absence of real understanding and authentic tolerance, one cannot speak of democracy in the political field nor of the degree of culture of a society."

Referring again to 1968, Dubcek said the Czechoslovak liberalization would have succeeded without outside interference and added, "our experience and practices have confirmed that international relations cannot be founded, built on the basis of criteria of hierarchy."

At the end of his speech, the leader who was forced to resign his party post in April 1969, said the trauma of August 1968 "still weighs on Czechoslovak society."

Twenty years on, Dubcek said he was prepared to take part in a new attempt at "combining socialism, democracy, humanism and the interests of all mankind. [single set of quotation marks as received]

He ended by appealing to all men everywhere for "a life without arms, without violence and without military threat to become, even for comtemporaries, the hallmark of a new quality of human life."

More on Speech

AU1411130588 Cologne Deutschlandfunk Network in German 0605 GMT 14 Nov 88

[From the Press Review]

[Text] Today, West German papers focus on the speech by former CSSR party chief Alexander Dubcek at Bologna University.

DIE WELT states: Some people who were many years ahead of their time have had to wait for years in very uncomfortable dwellings until the time has again caught up with them. These bitter words by Stanislaw Lec from Poland are gaining fresh significance after the speech by Alexander Dubcek at Bologna University. It was the first time in 2 decades that the 66-year-old former Communist Party chief of the Prague Spring stood on soil where he could speak freely. He said exactly what he had repeatedly stressed in talks following the bitter disappointment and humiliation by the Soviets: The 1968 Prague Spring would have been successful if foreign troops had not invaded the country. According to Dubcek, stagnation, sterility, and moral losses have characterized life in the CSSR following the crushing of the Prague Spring. The current CSSR leadership completely lacks future-oriented visions, the former Communist points out. His speech, however, also included a certain amount of criticism of the West, when he stated that after 1968 the CSSR disappeared from the focus of international attention, and that the existence of a Czechoslovak problem is no longer noted. Dubcek may not be taken seriously when he dreams about discovering the humanist substance of socialism. Whether socialism contains such substance can be questioned after all the experiences that have been undergone, particularly in view of Dubcek's own fate. Dubcek contends that the key to the solution of the crisis in the CSSR is not to be found

in the economy, but in politics. This applies to the entire communist world, which is currently going through unprecedented changes. To use Lenin's words: It is a revolutionary situation.

Authorities To Allow Return

AU1411125488 Paris AFP in English 1244 GMT 14 Nov 88

[Excerpt] Prague, Nov 14 (AFP) Czechoslovak authorities are not opposed to the return to his homeland of former Czechoslovak leader Alexander Dubcek, currently on his first trip abroad in 18 years, a government spokesman said here Monday.

Spokesman Miroslav Pavel said: "Mr. Dubcek is a Czechoslovak citizen and one of his fundamental rights is to live in Czechoslovakia. It is entirely up to him to make use of that right."

Speaking before his departure for Italy last week, Mr. Dubcek, the architect of the short-lived "Prague Spring" of 1968, said he feared that he might not be allowed to return after his 10-day trip abroad.

In Bologna, Italy, Sunday, Mr. Dubcek called for "socialism with a human face."

He was speaking at Bologna University after being awarded an honorary degree in political science.

However, a written version of the speech, distributed to reporters Saturday, contained much tougher language than that used by Mr. Dubcek on Sunday.

In it, Mr. Dubcek, 66, wrote that without the invasion of Warsaw Pact forces that ended the "Prague Spring", "our experiment would have been crowned with success."

The text also called for a "movement of renewal of the Czechoslovakia of 1968," adding it was necessary to "wed socialism and democracy." [passage omitted]

CPSU Central Committee's Yakovlev Visits

Meets With Janek

LD1211185388 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1800 GMT 12 Nov 88

[Text] Aleksandr Yakovlev, member of the Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, arrived today for a working visit at the invitation of the CPCZ Central Committee.

Shortly after his arrival, he held a working meeting in Bratislava with Ignac Janak, member of the Presidium of the CPCZ Central Committee and first secretary of the CPSL Central Committee. They discussed the restructuring of society and the deepening socialist democracy. They gave particular attention to ideological tasks and an exchange of experiences in the restructuring of ideological work. They also emphasized the importance of further deepening cooperation between both fraternal parties in this area.

Tours South Moravian Region

LD1311181188 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1500 GMT 13 Nov 88

[Text] Aleksandr Yakovlev, member of the Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, who is in Czechoslovakia on a working visit, laid flowers today in Bratislava at the monument to Soviet troops in Slavin. Also attending the commemorative ceremony were Ignac Janak, member of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium and first secretary of the CPSL Central Committee, and other officials.

The Soviet guest then paid a visit to Bratislava Castle, where he toured the staterooms and the permanent exhibition of Slovak historical jewelery.

En route from Bratislava to Prague, Aleksandr Yakovlev stopped off briefly in the South Moravian region where he was met at the Historical Museum of the State Castle at Slavkov, near Brno, by representatives of the political and public life of Brno city, its district, and the South Moravian region, headed by Vladimir Herman, candidate member of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium and leading secretary of the South Moravian Regional Party Committee. He viewed an exhibition entitled Napoleon and the Battle of Slavkov, and visited the Mohyla Miru state monument at Prace, near Brno.

During his stay in South Moravia, Aleksandr Yakovlev was also briefed on the character of the region, whose industrial, agricultural, and research potential makes a marked contribution to the dynamic development of economic relations, which also find an outlet in direct contacts between the two countries.

Stepan Receives USSR General Vorobyov

AU1111113788 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 9 Nov 88 p 2

[CTK report in the "International Relations" column]

[Text] Miroslav Stepan, CPCZ Central Committee Presidium member and leading secretary of the Prague CPCZ City Committee, received Lieutenant General Eduard Vorobyov, commander of the Central Group of Soviet Armies in the CSSR, on the occasion of the Month of Czechoslovak-Soviet Friendship in Prague on Tuesday [8 November]. He briefed his guest, among other things, on the implementation of the conclusions of the Prague City Party Conference and stressed the importance of developing and strengthening friendship and cooperation between work collectives of Prague, Moscow, and other Soviet cities.

Slovak Council Delegation Ends Visit to Kiev

LD1411145288 Bratislava Domestic Service in Slovak 2030 GMT 13 Nov 88

[Text] A declaration on widening and intensifying cooperation between Slovkaia and the Ukraine was signed at the end of a visit to Kiev by a delegation of the Slovak National Council. The delegation has since returned to CSSR.

The declaration reflects the determination of the two sides to contribute more toward developing and intensifying restructuring and greater democracy in the two fraternal countries. In this context, the declaration stresses the need to maintain permanent contacts between the parliaments of the two Republics and to encourage in general the establishment of work contacts and intensify cooperation between the representatives bodies at all levels. This is aimed at exchanging experiences gained in the process of fulfilling social, economic, cultural, educational, and other tasks.

The delegation of the Slovak National Council, which was led by its Chairman Viliam Salgovic, was received by Vladimir Shcherbitskiy, first secretary of the Communist Party of the Ukraine Central Committee, and other officials in Kiev.

Johanes Visits Soviet Union 11-12 Nov

For Moscow and Prague reportage on the visit by Foreign Minister Jaromir Johanes to the Soviet Union on 11-12 November, including his meetings with Soviet Foreign Minister E.A. Shevardnadze and Council of Ministers Chairman N.I. Ryzhkov, please see the East Europe section of the 14 November Soviet Union DAILY REPORT and subsequent issues.

Police Break Up International Historians Meeting

Dissidents Detained

AU1111094588 Paris AFP in English 0931 GMT 11 Nov 88

[Text] Prague, Nov 11 (AFP)—Plain-clothes policemen broke up a meeting of Czechoslovak and foreign historians minutes after it opened in a hotel here Friday and arrested the chief organiser, playwright and human rights activist Vaclav Havel.

An A.F.P. correspondent on the scene said police told the 16 foreign participants that the symposium, on the theme "Czechoslovakia and Events in Europe 1918-88", was "illegal" and "against the interests of the working people of Czechoslovakia."

The foreigners, from eight countries, were told they would face "the inevitable consequences" if they tried to persist with the meeting.

Police on Wednesday and Thursday detained at least 13 Czechoslovak dissidents to prevent them attending the symposium, sources close to those arrested said.

Most of the detainees are signatories of the Charter 77 human rights group.

They include Jiri Hajek, foreign minister during the Prague Spring of 1968, Stanislav Devaty and Milos Hajek, both Charter 77 spokesmen, journalists Jiri Dienstbier, Jiri Ruml and Jan Stern, Catholic activist Vaclav Benda and Milos Rejchrt, a pastor, the sources said.

Action Protested by Participants

AU1211165688 Paris AFP in English 1646 GMT 12 Nov 88

[Excerpts] Prague, Nov 12 (AFP)—Some 20 foreign participants in a historians' seminar protested here Saturday against what they called the "incomprehensible" move by plain clothes police to break up the meeting minutes after it began.

"We are astonished by the atmosphere here," said Gerald Nagler, the Swedish head of the Vienna-based International Helsinki Federation.

The symposium, due to open here on Friday, was broken up by Czechoslovak police and its chief organizer, playwright Vaclav Havel, arrested.

Foreign participants in the conference, which included former Dutch foreign minister Max Van der Stoel, British Liberal MP Lord Avebury and other officials and scholars from nine western countries, also placed flowers on the grave of Jan Patocka, the founder of the Czechoslovak human rights group Charter 77.

Mr. Patocka died in 1977 several days after being questioned by Czechoslovak police on a meeting he had with Mr. Van der Stoel.

"Patocka died for freedom and democracy, but his ideas continue," Mr. Van der Stoel said.

The group also sent a letter to the Communist Party Central Committee and to Czechoslovak leader Milos Jakes protesting the "flagrant violation of the Helsinki Final Act" by Czechoslovak police.

A number of Czechoslovak historians who were planning to participate in the symposium have also been arrested and questioned by police in recent days. [passage omitted]

Two British journalists were also to participate in the meeting.

The group also sent a "message of solidarity" to the wife of Augustin Navratil, a Czechoslovak opposition leader who gathered 500,000 signatures on a petition in favor of religious freedom in the country.

Mr. Navratil has been detained in a psychiatric hospital in Moravia, in the center of the country, since October 28.

The group is expected to travel to Vienna where the meeting broken up by Czechoslovak authorities will be relocated and held on Sunday and Monday.

Czechoslovak emigres in Vienna are expected to participate in the symposium, which will examine Czechoslovakia's history since its creation in 1918.

17 Arrested Still Held

AU1311160988 Paris AFP in English 1542 GMT 13 Nov 88

[Text] Prague, Nov 13 (AFP)—Czechoslovak authorities were still holding Sunday at least 17 dissidents who were detained in connection with a historians' seminar that police stopped, friends and relatives said.

The dissidents, who were arrested between last Wednesday and Saturday, could be kept until Monday, the sources said they were told.

Detention without trial is theoretically limited to 48 hours in Czechoslovakia, but detentions beyond that period have become common. Police release detainees and rearrest them minutes later.

Sources said another 20 dissidents were forced to stay home by police.

Two carloads of police were outside the home of Vaclav Havel, a prominent playwright who organized the Czechoslovakia 88 symposium and who was dragged away by police on Friday minutes after declaring it open in Prague.

The house arrest measures were apparently aimed at preventing activists from meeting foreign participants at the symposium which was declared illegal by Czechoslovak authorities, but which was to continue on Sunday and Monday in Vienna.

The symposium was to study the history of Czechoslovakia from its founding in 1918 to the present day.

Gdansk Shipyard Closure Viewed as Failure

AU1411083188 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 9 Nov 88 p 7

[Report from Gdansk by RUDE PRAVO correspondent Pavol Minarik: "Need To Overcome Difficult Moments"]

[Excerpts] Wiktor Borcuch, chairman of the PZPR enterprise committee, is one of those employees of the Gdansk shipyard who only has an entry stamp in their personal document. He got it 17 years ago. But he knows people who have been working here 30 years and more. Now that the decision has come to close down the shipyards, they feel profound regret, as if part of their lives has been wasted.

We are discussing everything that is going on in the combine, and, in particular, the role of the party organization at the exact moment that the enterprise is being liquidated. It is as if we are standing between two millstones, he says. One of them is the interest of our entire society, supported by the stance of the Sejm on exceptional powers for the government; the second is the local interest of the shipyard employees.

From the time the party organization was informed about the issue of the existence or nonexistence of the shipyard, it has been pressing to save it. Those who are today up in arms against this decision about the shipyard, not long ago were not doing anything. That means they did nothing to bring about a marked change in the structure and results of production. It was precisely the party that proposed a program for its profound reorganization. [passage omitted]

From our viewpoint the decision to close down the shipyard is unfair, but it is a government decision, and it is difficult for us to engage in polemics with it at the moment. Since the Sejm expressed the confidence in and support for the government a month ago, we cannot and do not have the right to doubt them today. However, I openly admit that we are not happy about it, because this is also our defeat, a defeat of all party members, because we did not succeed in persuading people to jointly endeavor to make changes which would have made the shipyard's operation more efficient.

There is a plan, Comrade Borcuch says, to establish smaller enterprises or companies on the shipyards' grounds after its liquidation, which would be capable of efficiently using the machinery and equipment. [passage omitted]

Walesa, who immediately after the announcement of the decision to close down the shipyard came running to the PZPR enterprise committee, has a different plan. He proposed that the party organization support his concept of "saving the shipyard." However, chairman Borcuch rejected his initiative, because by protest rallies and even a general strike, as Walesa imagines, the enterprise

cannot be saved. That, in essence, was repeated by the chieftain of the former "Solidarity" at a protest rally held at the shipyard on Tuesday [8 November]. Moreover, on Walesa's initiative, "Solidarity's" illegal leaflets are circulating in the enterprise, calling for expression of disagreement with the government's decision. Comrade Borcuch notes that, essentially, "Solidarity" exploits the existing sentiments to make people sign their names under its political objectives, since the text of declarations speaks only about saving the shipyard as "Solidarity's symbol."

People who have been working here their entire lives are not mentioned at all, and these declarations say even less about how to help them find jobs in the new situation. Some of the people are, for understandable reasons, broken at present, and are signing these declarations. It is up to us, party members and trade unionists, to help them overcome these difficult moments, Comrade Borcuch concludes. [passage omitted]

Adamec Receives Afghan Premier

LD1111160488 Prague CTK in English 1451 GMT 11 Nov 88

[Text] Prague Nov 11 (CTK)—Czechoslovak Premier Ladislav Adamec received here today Afghan Premier Muhammad Hasan Sharq, who was accompanied by Minister Without Portfolio Nematullah Pajwak, Minister for Returnees 'Abdul Ghafar Farahi, Commerce Minister Muhammad Khan Jalalar and Afghan Ambassador to Czechoslovakia 'Abdul Baqi Samandary. Present at the meeting was Czechoslovak Deputy Premier Jaromir Obzina.

Muhammad Hasan Sharq, who stopped over in Prague on his way from New York where he attended the U.N. General Assembly, informed Ladislav Adamec of the present developments in Afghanistan. He stressed the permanent interest of the Afghan Government in the observation of the Geneva accords and the program of national reconciliation. He said that this stand has been fully understood by the U.N. secretary-general. The Afghans living in the USA have also voiced support to the government. The Afghan opposition, receiving considerable material aid from abroad, sticks to its negative attitude.

Ladislav Adamec expressed the conviction that the Afghan people will achieve peace after many years of war suffering. He said that the people in Czechoslovakia follow with great interest and understanding the developments in Afghanistan. Bilateral relations are good and Czechoslovakia is ready to expand economic cooperation as soon as favourable conditions for it are created by a peaceful settlement in Afghanistan.

Husak Receives New Envoy to Ethiopia

LD1011172188 Prague Domestic Service in Slovak 1300 GMT 10 Nov 88

[Text] At Prague Castle, Gustav Husak, president of the republic, received Dusan Rovensky, newly appointed CSSR ambasador extraordinary and plenipotentiary to the People's Democratic Republic of Ethiopia. The reception took place in connection with him taking up the diplomatic mission.

Parliamentary Delegation Travels to Ethiopia

Arrives 2 Nov

AU0711111488 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 3 Nov 88 p 7

[Unattributed report in the "24 Hours Abroad" column]

[Text] A delegation of CSSR Federal Assembly deputies, led by Jan Janik, deputy chairman of the CSSR Federal Assembly and chairman of the Chamber of nations, arrived in Ethiopia for an official friendly visit on Wednesday [2 November].

Returns Home

AU0911150988 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 8 Nov 88 p 2

[CTK report: "Delegation of the CSSR Federal Assembly Has Returned"]

[Text] Prague—On Monday [7 November], a CSSR Federal Assembly delegation, headed by its Deputy Chairman Jan Janik, returned home from a visit to four African countries—Mozambique, Angola, Guinea-Bissau, and Ethiopia.

Lenart-Led Delegation Departs for Spain

LD1311235888 Prague CTK in English 1820 GMT 13 Nov 88

[Text] Prague Nov 13 (CTK)—Presidium Member and Secretary of the Czechoslovak Communist Party Central Committee Jozef Lenart left today for a visit to Spain at the invitation of the Spanish Socialist Workers' Party.

Jozef Lenart is heading a delegation of the Czechoslovak Communist Party Central Committee.

DPRK Initiative for Reunification Praised

AU1111183688 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 9 Nov 88 p 7

[Jan Kovarik article in the "A Note" column: "Concept for Korea"]

[Text] The DPRK has now replied to South Korean President No Tae-u's October proposal to hold talks with DPRK President Kim Il-song in Pyongyang with a broadly-based conceptual proposal which points out the possible path for the country's reunification. The proposal proceeds from the assumption that one has to create a corresponding atmosphere for a change in the situation on the peninsula, and that this, again, depends on mutual trust and understanding.

More than 35 years—since 25 July 1953—divided Korea has been living under the threat of an armed conflict breaking out. Considerable armed forces are being maintained on both sides of the armistice line, a matter which burdens the budgets of both the DPRK and South Korea. Moreover, in the South there are more than 40,000 American troops equipped with nuclear weapons and, as a consequence, extensive military exercises are being held there every year. These are, next to the hostile propaganda and the differing social systems, some of the main obstacles to detente on the Korean peninsula.

The situation between the North and the South has been evolving for many decades, and together with this it has become, for example, a "matter of course" that no communications exist between the two parts of the country. Since this year one can perceive signals which provide hope for a change. In Seoul, and apparently also in Washington, they have realized that the situation cannot be resolved militarily, and that the proposals from Pyongyang are meant seriously and are realistic. From the South there no longer resounds the incessant stream of hostility, and also in the Seoul Parliament and among the South Korean businessmen, voices favoring common sense have been increasingly heard. Certainly, not everything will assert itself immediately, but an intimation of a possible shift does exist.

The DPRK proposal pointed out problems which, in its view, are the greatest obstacle to detente and peaceful reunification. It is understandable that the presence of American troops is one of the obstacles, as well as the two sides' large number of men under arms. Therefore, the initiative contains both the timetable for the withdrawal of foreign units and for the reduction of the numerical strength of the two armies to less than 100,000 men. The offer from Pyongyang is meant sincerely and should be received in Seoul and Washington as such. It presupposes that these sides, too, will submit their realistic plan and that, as soon as the proposals are on the table, political dialogue will get underway. The concept for the Korean peninsula is based on this dialogue.

Tatra Truck Agreement Signed With PRC

AU0911150788 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 8 Nov 88 p 7

["zr"-signed report: "Tatra Trucks for China for One Billion Korunas"]

[Summary] Prague—Delegations of the Motokov foreign trade enterprise and the Tatra Kombinat state enterprise "recently" signed contracts with their partners in China on deliveries of Tatra trucks worth about Kcs1 billion. The partners also discussed the intensification of cooperation in the export and assembly of Tatra trucks and the production of selected components over the next 2 years and beyond.

Cultural Cooperation Accord Signed With Austria

AU1411123388 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 11 Nov 88 p 2

[Unattributed report in the "World of Culture" column]

[Text] The Mixed Czechoslovak-Austrian Cultural Commission concluded its deliberations on cooperation in culture, education, and sports in Prague on Thursday [10 November]. The commission reached an agreement on the extension of direct cooperation between the Academies of Sciences of the two countries, on the establishment of scientific-technical contacts between schools and universities, and on symposiums on Czech and Slovak literature in Austria, as well as on exhibitions of works of art to be held in both countries.

Border Crossing Point With FRG Modernized

AU0911151788 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 8 Nov 88 p 2

[CTK report in the "By Teletype, Mail, Telephone..." column]

[Summary] A rebuilt and widened bridge at the Folmava-Furth border crossing between the CSSR and the FRG was opened to traffic on 3 November. The reconstruction of the bridge is connected with the upcoming construction of a new "worksite" for processing truck traffic. The road between the CSSR and the FRG border crossing points has been widened from two to four lanes.

CPCZ Central Committee To Meet 15-16 Dec

LD1111220788 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1400 GMT 11 Nov 88

[Text] The CPCZ Central Committee Presidium discussed at its session today preparations for the 12th session of the CPCZ Central Committee, which will convene on 15 and 16 December.

The session will assess the implementation of national economic tasks for this year, the draft national economic plan for next year, and the implementation of the schedule for restructuring the economic mechanism. Comrade Ladislav Adamec will speak on this point. The Central Committee will also discuss the proposal to convene the 18th CPCZ Congress.

The Presidium ratified the 10 November measures of the Presidium of the federal government. These measures identified tasks for ministers and heads of central bodies in order to make sure that the economic bodies that did not fulfill the tasks of the economic plan for three-quarters of this year do not pay out advance bonuses based on economic results or advances, or partial payment of rewards for this year's results to leading officials.

It acknowledged the measures prepared with the aim of regulating the export of consumer goods and foodstuffs through tourists.

The Presidium discussed and acknowledged the report on securing the supply of the national economy and the population with fuel and energy during the 1988-89 winter. The report shows that in coal mining areas conditions have been created for covering the needs of the national economy and of the population during the coming winter. This can be accomplished without the continuation of coal mining during Christmas and New Year's. The accumulation of supplies of solid fuel in advance by individual power stations and by the other consumers is higher than in previous years. The state of supplies of natural gas and coal gas in underground reservoirs and of heating oils is favorable.

The industry, however, has been continuously failing to fulfill the task set by the 17th party congress on reducing demands for energy in the creation of the national revenue.

It is expected that leading officials in all sections of the national economy and at every workplace will implement thoroughly adopted measures, in particular with regard to structural changes and to the rationalization of fuel and power consumption. They must promote a climate of irreconciliable opposition to any displays of bad management and waste, and increase their personal responsibility for the state of fuel and power resource management.

The CPCZ Central Committee Presidium discussed and acknowledged the bill on the activity of federal central administrative bodies. The bill is based on the fact that the CSSR's socioeconomic advance, increased economic efficiency—with the aim of improving the standard of creating material and spiritual values for the people's life and work—and carrying out a comprehensive restructuring of the economic mechanism requires a redefinition of the role of the central administrative bodies which operate at the federal level and form along with central administrative bodies in the republics an inseparable part of a unified managing center.

It also acknowledged the bill on constitutional law which changes Constitutional Law No. 126 of 1970 on measures in the system of the federal central bodies which are headed by a member of the federal government.

The CPCZ Central Committee Presidium acknowledged at its session today information about the working visit of Comrade Jozef Lenart to the GDR. It noted that successful fulfillment of tasks during talks between the general secretaries of the CPCZ Central Committee and the SED Central Committee on 10 March 1988 contributed to strengthening bilateral economic and scientific-technical cooperation and to advancing the socialist community.

Hoffmann Chairs Commission Session

AU1411131988 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 11 Nov 88 p 1

["(z)"-signed report: "The Commissions of the CPCZ Central Committee in Session"]

[Text] Prague—The CPCZ Central Committee's Permanent Commission for Matters of Internal Party Life and the CPCZ Central Committee's CPCZ Statute Amendment Commission convened on Thursday [10 November] for a joint session chaired by their chairman Karel Hoffmann, CPCZ Central Committee Presidium member and Central Committee secretary.

The session primarily dealt with matters connected with the CPCZ Central Committee's decision to expedite the convening of the 18th CPCZ Congress by 1 year. It also assessed the experience acquired in implementing the party statutes, and the comments and suggestions of party bodies, primary organizations, and individual communists for their amendment, particularly in view of the demands placed on party activity and on the implementation of the party's leading role under the conditions of restructuring and democratization.

The session also discussed organizational issues and approved the work plan of the CPCZ Central Committee's Permanent Commission for Matters of Internal Party Life, as well as the timetable of activities to be pursued by the CPCZ Central Committee's CPCZ Statute Amendment Commission.

CPCZ Education Commission Constituted

AU0811111788 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 4 Nov 88 p 2

[CTK report: "On Educational Policy"]

[Text] Prague—A constituent meeting of the CPCZ Central Committee's Education Commission, presided over by Comrade Jan Fojtik, was held on Thursday [3 November]. At its first session the CPCZ Central Committee's Education Commission addressed, above all, the preparations for the CPCZ Central Committee session on education, and discussed experience from party work in kindergartens, primary and secondary schools, and higher institutes of learning.

Press Conference on Government Session Given

AU0811084288 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 5 Nov 88 p 1

[Report by RUDE PRAVO staffers Jana Perglerova and Igor Sirota: "Knowing the Citizens' Views; From a Press Conference on CSSR Government Session; Research into Public Views on the Mission of our National Front, and Citizens' Attitudes Toward National Committee Work; CSSR and FRG Power Grids to be Interlinked; Government to Specify Its Program Statement at an Extraordinary Session"]

[Text] Prague—In the process of restructuring our society and developing the flow of information to the public, public opinion is becoming an important political phenomenon. That is why it must be constantly researched

and evaluated, said Karel Rychtarik, director of the Public Opinion Research Institute in Prague, at the press conference held by the Office of the CSSR Government Presidium on Friday [4 November].

He briefed Czechoslovak and foreign journalists on the results of the work accomplished by this workplace of the social sciences. He also noted the course of the international symposium on public opinion in socialist countries (today's HALO SOBOTA carries an interview with Soviet Academician T. I. Zaslavskaya, with details on the symposium's deliberations). Likewise, the possibility of setting up a center for public opinion research in individual regions of the CSSR, which would also attached to certain ministerial branches, is being considered. At the same time, it is essential to constantly improve the quality of the research process itself. Here an important role is played by the data bank, which can be used not only to store the research data, but also to immediately call up and organize data according to the requirements of consumers, i.e. of party and state agencies and organizations.

The first, 400-copy run of the bulletin "Public Opinion in the CSSR" was published a few days ago. However, at present we lack the technical and financial means to sell this bulletin on the open market, in kiosks. The first copy contains information about citizens' views on nonagricultural production in agricultural enterprises, and about the views held by the CSSR's population on selected international policy issues. In the course of time, we will acquaint our readers with the data contained in the bulletin on the pages of RUDE PRAVO.

The institute has concluded its research into citizens' views on the mission of our National Front and is now preparing another project dealing with the citizens' attitude toward national committee work. The people interviewed are chosen at random, but so as to fairly reflect the sociodemographic structure of the CSSR.

Miroslav Pavel, head of the press section of the Office of CSSR Government Presidium, briefed those present on the Federal Government's deliberations.

The government agreed to changes in the agreement on the construction of the Gabcikovo-Nagymaros hydroproject, with the provision that the entire system be put into operation more than 1 year earlier than planned. For us, the shorter deadlines represent a Kcs64-million saving in investment costs.

The Government Presidium expressed agreement with the interlinkage of the CSSR and FRG power grids. The 400-kilovolt line will run over 130 km of our territory and 35 km of the territory of our western neighbor. The converter station will also be on FRG territory. The CSSR's costs will amount to Kcs500 million, our neighbor's costs to DM160 million. The payback time on this project (it will start operations in 1992) is calculated at 7.3 years, and its operational expectancy at 40 years.

M. Pavel then stated that the Government, which will submit its program statement to the deputies for approval at the CSSR Federal Assembly session on 8 and 9 November, will conclude work on the document at an extraordinary session next Sunday [6 November]. This session will also discuss the drafts of three new laws.

Assembly Activities, Discussions Highlighted

Adamec Statement Assessed

AU1011095988 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 8 Nov 88 p 1

["(nig)"-signed report: "From the Communist Deputies' Group"]

[Text] Prague—The Communist deputies of the CSSR Federal Assembly assessed the information about the orientation of the CSSR Government's program statement that was presented to them by Federal Premier Ladislav Adamec at the Monday [7 November] session of their group. The session, chaired by group Chairman Jan Marko, was attended by Milos Jakes, CPCZ Central Committee general secretary.

Comrade Adamec stressed that the statement he will present to the Federal Assembly is based on the socioeconomic line of the 17th CPCZ Congress, on the law on the Eighth 5-Year Plan, and on the specific elaboration of the 10th CPCZ Central Committee session. It contains (in particular) the tasks for the next 2 years, when it will be important to overcome problems for which solutions are overdue.

Eight deputies spoke in the discussion, after which the group expressed its agreement with the orientation of the government's program statement and recommended that the chairman take into consideration the suggestions made by the Communist deputies at their session.

Agreement Approved

LD0911210388 Prague CTK in English 1825 GMT 9 Nov 88

[Text] Prague Nov 9 (CTK)—The Czechoslovak Federal Assembly today approved the Czechoslovak-Spanish agreement on trade marks, ratified the treaty and approved a constitutional law concluding the first joint review of the Czechoslovak-Polish border since 1958 when the Czechoslovak-Polish treaty of final establishment of the joint border was signed, and discussed a report by the Czechoslovak Supreme Court and the prosecutor general on the state of socialist legislation.

The Czechoslovak-Spanish agreement on trade marks, data about the origin and other geographical marks is to help expand cooperation between the two countries and increase their trade exchange. The agreement provides for the protection of 285 Czechoslovak trade marks, particularly of agricultural and industrial productions and applied arts. The significance of the agreement is

emphasized by the fact that Spain has become an EEC member and the EEC Commission tries to prevent independent decisions of the EEC members and thus influence the choice of states with which an EEC member concludes an agreement of this kind.

The report of the Czechoslovak Supreme Court and the prosecutor-general on the state of socialist legislation said that the crime-rate slightly declined in Czechoslovakia in 1987—the number of people prosecuted for criminal acts decreased by 2.3 per cent and the number of people prosecuted for misdemeanour by 4.6 per cent. Chairman of the Supreme Court Josef Ondrej said in the opening speech inter alia that the issue of strengthening Czechoslovak legislation is being approached at present from the wide positions of the restructuring and its basis—the democratization. "The restructuring demands a higher level of the organization of society and the citizens' mature discipline and order. It is also possible to say that the further the restructuring proceeds, the more consistently must the principles of socialism be applied in life and the laws and regulations of socialist coexistence, included in the constitution and Czechoslovak laws, observed", Josef Ondrej said.

The 11th joint meeting of the House of Nations and the House of the People ended today.

State Plan Discussed

LD0911210588 Prague CTK in English
1855 GMT 9 Nov 88

[Text] Prague Nov 9 (CTK)—The Czechoslovak Federal Assembly Presidium met here today immediately after the joint meeting of the House of the People and the House of Nations. Alois Indra, member of the Czechoslovak Communist Party Presidium and Federal Assembly chairman presided at the meeting, in which also Czechoslovak Communist Party General Secretary Milos Jakes took part.

The Presidium discussed the implementation of the State Plan of the development of the national economy and Czechoslovakia's state budget this year. Reports were given by Czechoslovak First Deputy Premier and State Planning Commission Chairman Bohumil Urban and Czechoslovak Finance Minister Jan Stejskal. The Presidium expressed the conviction that the Czechoslovak Government in harmony with its program statement will ensure the implementation of the tasks set by the 8th Five-Year Plan. It also stressed that the key politically and economically acute points of the plan must be settled decisively particularly as far as harmony of production with the needs of the home and foreign markets is concerned.

Jakes, Party Leaders Address Political Students

LD1211132188 Prague Television Service in Slovak
1830 GMT 11 Nov 88

[Text] The first 2-week course attended by chief secretaries of district and municipal district party committees ended at the CPCZ Central Committee Political College today. At the end of the course there was a discussion meeting with Milos Jakes, general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee. Topical questions on the party's policy in the present period formed the basis of lectures. Attention was chiefly devoted to the problem of restructuring the economic mechanism in the process of speeding up economic and social development and the further improvement of the political system. The improvement of the party's political and organizational work and of the methods of work employed by district and municipal district party committees also formed a part of the training.

Comrades Vasil Bilak, Jan Fojtik, Karel Hoffmann, Josef Kempny, Jozef Lenart, Karel Urbanek, Mikulas Beno, Frantisek Hanus, and other officials of party bodies, social organizations, the government, and other state institutions as well as representatives of mass information media spoke to the participants in the course.

Husak Confers February Order on CTK

LD0411235988 Prague CTK in English
1716 GMT 4 Nov 88

[Text] Prague Nov 4 (CTK)—A ceremonial rally of employees of the CZECHOSLOVAK NEWS AGENCY (CTK) marking the 70th anniversary of its foundation took place here Friday.

Czechoslovak President Gustav Husak conferred the victorious February Order on the CZECHOSLOVAK NEWS AGENCY for a significant contribution to the fulfilment of tasks in the sphere of information. The award was presented to CTK representatives by Presidium member and Secretary of the Czechoslovak Communist Party Central Committee Jan Fojtik, who congratulated on behalf of the party Presidium and general Secretary Milos Jakes the news agency staff on the significant anniversary and the high state distinction.

CTK Director General Otakar Svercina thanked the Czechoslovak Communist Party leadership for the high distinction award to the CZECHOSLOVAK NEWS AGENCY. He assured Jan Fojtik of the agency's active contribution to the implementation of the party political line in restructuring of the society, and assistance in introducing everything progressive to the benefit of the Czechoslovak people.

Death of Catholic Bishop Reported

AU1111133788 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech
9 Nov 88 p 2

[CTK report: "Jan Pasztor Has Died"]

[Text] Bratislava—Jan Pasztor, doctor of law and theology, bishop of the Nitra Diocese, died after serious illness at the age of 76 on Tuesday [8 November].

1988 Harvest, Animal Production Results Reviewed
AU0811112988 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 5 Nov 88 p 2

[Milan Pavlik article: "Field Chores About to Be Concluded; On a Topical Theme"]

[Summary] This year's harvest of basic cereals (excepting corn for grain) amounted to 10.06 million tonnes, or 502,000 tonnes more than planned; the average yields were 4.74 tonnes per hectare. The harvest of grain cereals amounted to 11,822,000 tonnes (including corn for grain), or 372,000 tonnes more than planned; the yields of corn for grain amounted to slightly more than 5 tonnes per hectare. We had a record harvest of winter rape—an average of 2.91 tonnes per hectare.

We have problems in animal production; "we cannot expect the general needs in concentrated, and in some areas even bulk, feed to be fully met. It is becoming obvious that the present dynamics of animal production goes beyond the possibilities of intensive plant production." Under the pressure of current demand, the agricultural enterprises are focusing on pork production, increasing the need for feed grain. The average per capita meat consumption has increased by 3.3 kg since the beginning of the present 5-year plan; in fact, last year it amounted to 89 kg—the figure planned for 1990. In order to meet this kind of demand, in the next 5 years we would have to produce roughly 500,000 tonnes of cereals more than envisaged by the 5-year plan.

The potato harvest was higher than last year, but about 7 percent lower than planned. The harvest of sugar beet is estimated at only 5,593,000 tonnes (this is about 70 percent of the planned amount), because almost 40,000 hectares had to be plowed under in the spring. Although the sugar content is lower than in previous years, supplies to the domestic market are fully provided for.

'Temporary' Baby Food Shortage Reported
AU0811111388 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 4 Nov 88 p 2

["'Question' to Docent Doctor of Medicine Jiri Jodl, Candidate of Sciences, Deputy Chief Expert for Baby Nutrition and Gastroenterology:"]

[Text] [Question] To what age can Sunar [brandname baby formula] be prescribed to children?

[Jodl] Children can be given Sunar even as infants, that is, up to the age of 2 years, because it is milk with a full fat content of excellent quality. Since last July we have registered increased interest in Sunar and, at the same time, the capacity of the dessicating equipment of the Dairy Nutrition Industry enterprise permits production to increase only to a certain level. Because the stocks of Sunar decreased in some regions, the Czech Ministry of Health and Social Affairs issued instructions for its temporary rationing in accordance with the existing situation in individual regions. In any case, however, children up to 1 year of age must get it. These temporary difficulties should not repeat themselves in 1990, when a new, modern enterprise for the production of infant and children food from a milk base is slated to go into operation in Zabreh na Morave.

Gas, Crude Deposits Found in Slovakia
AU0711111388 Prague ZEMEDELSKE NOVINY in Czech 3 Nov 88 p 5

["(ms)"-signed report: "Gas and Crude Oil in Eastern Slovakia"]

[Text] Michalovce—The Morava Crude Oilfields [Moravske Naftove Doly] concern enterprise in Hodonin has a branch in Michalovce, Eastern Slovakia. Its staff is currently researching natural gas deposits near Senna, estimated to contain at least 3 billion cubic meters of gas. A deposit found near Visnov and Rakovec is expected to contain a further 1 billion cubic meters of natural gas. Moreover, a crude oil deposit was discovered near Lipany. The current research is primarily focused on determining how big this deposit is.

New Alloy for Aircraft Production Developed
AU1011145888 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 8 Nov 88 p 3

[CTK report: "New Aluminum-Based Alloy"]

[Summary] Prague—The Metal Research Institute in Panenske Brezany, the Aviation Research and Experimental Institute in Prague-Letnany, and the Nuclear and Physical Engineering Department of the Czech College of Technology in Prague have jointly developed an aluminum-based alloy for the aviation industry. The alloy guarantees 10 to 12-percent higher resistance and sideslip limits than those of foreign products, and an approximately 50-percent lower propagation velocity of fatigue cracks than in alloys used to date. Tests of airworthiness according to valid regulations have confirmed that the primary aircraft construction shows a 20 to 30-percent higher fatigue life span [unavova zivotnost] and that the intervals between periodic checks can be lengthened 50 to 100 percent. The experts have also comprehensively resolved the matter of introducing the new material into production and of testing the finished products.

Book on Slusovice Management System Published
AU0711153388 Prague ZEMEDELSKE NOVINY in Czech 3 Nov 88 p 3

[Article by Vaclav Kraus and Engineer Stanislav Ptacnik: "What Is Slusovice Management Like?; A Few Thoughts on an Interesting Publication"]

[Excerpts] "What Is Slusovice Management Like?," this is how engineer Stanislav Vacha, who is both a writer and a management expert, has titled his new book,

44,000 copies of which recently came out in the "Novinar" Publishing House. [passage omitted] The book is an attempt to summarize the author's findings from his several short-term assignments in this enterprise, which is generally known in our country, in order to lift the veil of mystery and give a credible account of its management style, which generates admiration and envy, as well as recognition and repudiation, among the agricultural and nonagricultural public alike. [passage omitted]

The book will help familiarize readers with the circumstances that determined the birth and development of the "Slusovice miracle." Readers will also gain a more profound understanding of the management techniques and methods applied, and will consequently learn that, in fact, no "miracle" is involved. [passage omitted]

In the closing part of his book, Stanislav Vacha explains and refutes over many pages the most frequent objections to the Slusovice style of entrepreneurship. His evidence is very interesting. However, because he does not concede even the slightest doubt, his arguments sound at times more like propaganda.

The book comes to an end, but the "Slusovice" phenomenon, its results, and its rapacious and dynamic entrepreneurship are here to stay. The questions that agitate the agricultural public in connection with this phenomenon still abound. Vacha's book does not give a convincing reply to all of them. We do not think that his book is a wasted chance. Rather, it is a chance that has not been fully seized. And, as such, it is a new challenge.

Las Vegas-Style Casino Planned for Prague

AU0811155188 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 4 Nov 88 p 6

[Unattributed report in the "They Said, They Wrote" column]

[Text] As the British agency REUTER reports, the Canadian Sun-Gold Developments International Corporation is seeking an agreement with CEDOK [Czechoslovak Travel Bureau] about a Las Vegas-style casino and nightclub in Prague. "It will be the first agreement that has ever been concluded with a socialist country," said Dallas Stenley, the company's president, who is an ex-pilot. In his words, it will be a joint venture in which CEDOK should have a 54-percent stake.

Leaders' Public Appearances for 27 Oct-2 Nov

AU0411181588 [Editorial Report] Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech, Prague MLADA FRONTA in Czech, and Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak from 28 October to 3 November report the following appearances of CSSR leaders (sourceline of each report is given in parentheses):

A session of the CPCZ Central Committee, the Presidium of the CSSR National Front Central Committee, the Presidium of the CSSR Federal Assembly, and the CSSR Government in honor of the 70th anniversary of the founding of the Czechoslovak Republic, was held in the Spanish Hall of Prague Castle on 27 October. The session was attended by Ladislav Adamec, Mikulas Beno, Vasil Bilak, Jan Fojtik, Josef Haman, Frantisek Hanus, Vladimir Herman, Karel Hoffmann, Miloslav Hruskovic, Gustav Husak, Alois Indra, Milos Jakes, Ignac Janak, Josef Kempny, Ivan Knotek, Jozef Lenart, Frantisek Pitra, Miroslav Stepan, and Karel Urbanek. (RUDE PRAVO 28 Oct 88 p 1)

A rally of the working people and youth of Prague and the Central Bohemian region, which was held at Wenceslas Square in Prague the same day, was attended by the identical high-echelon party representatives. (RUDE PRAVO 28 Oct 88 p 1)

Upon his arrival in Prague on 30 October, Jose Eduardo dos Santos, chairman of the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA)-Labor Party and Angolan president, was welcomed at Ruzyne Airport by Ladislav Adamec, Vasil Bilak, Milos Jakes, and Gustav Husak. (RUDE PRAVO 31 Oct 88 p 1) Talks with Jose Eduardo dos Santos, held in Prague on 31 October, were attended by Ladislav Adamec, Vasil Bilak, Milos Jakes, Jaromir Johanes, and Gustav Husak. (RUDE PRAVO 1 Oct 88 p 1) A gala dinner in Dos Santos' honor later that day was attended by Vasil Bilak, Alois Indra, Milos Jakes, Josef Haman, Frantisek Hanus, and Gustav Husak. (RUDE PRAVO 1 Nov 88 p 1) Dos Santos, accompanied by Vasil Bilak and Jaromir Johanes, paid a visit to the National Memorial at Zizkov Hill the same day. (RUDE PRAVO 1 Nov 88 p 1) Dos Santos was accompanied by Bilak and Johanes when he visited a theater performance in Prague in the evening. (PRACE 1 Nov 88 p 2) Bilak, Jakes, Husak, and Urbanek saw Dos Santos off at Ruzyne Airport on 1 November. (RUDE PRAVO 2 Nov 88 p 1)

A session of the Czech National Council in Prague on 1 November was attended by Josef Kempny, Frantisek Pitra, and Karel Urbanek. (RUDE PRAVO 1 Nov 88 p 1) A session of the Slovak National Council in Bratislava on 1 November was attended by Ignac Janak and Ivan Knotek. (RUDE PRAVO 2 Nov 88 p 1)

Successful Slovak athletes and their trainers who won or got credit in winning medals at Seoul Olympic Games were received by Ignac Janak and Ivan Knotek in Bratislava on 31 October. (RUDE PRAVO 1 Nov 88 p 8)

A CPCZ ideological seminar in Kladno on 1 November was attended by Jan Fojtik and Josef Haman. (RUDE PRAVO 2 Nov 88 p 2)

A session of the CSSR National Front Central Committee in Prague on 2 November was attended by Ladislav Adamec and Milos Jakes. (RUDE PRAVO 3 Nov 88 p 1)

Milos Jakes, CPCZ Central Committee general secretary, received Karel Lukas, the newly appointed ambassador to Belgium and Luxembourg, in Prague on 27 October in connection with the latter's taking up his diplomatic post. (RUDE PRAVO 28 Oct 88 p 2)

Gustav Husak, CPCZ Central Committee Presidium member and CSSR president, received newly appointed ambassadors to Cyprus and Brasil in connection with their taking up posts, in Prague on 2 November. (RUDE PRAVO 3 Nov 88 p 1)

Ladislav Adamec, CPCZ Central Committee Presidium member and CSSR premier, was present when Gustav Husak received Svatopluk Potac, the newly appointed chairman of the Czechoslovak State Bank, in Prague on 27 October. (RUDE PRAVO 28 Oct 88 p 2) Adamec inducted Potac into his new post in Prague on 31 October. (RUDE PRAVO 1 Nov 88 p 2) Adamec met with Miroslav Zavadil, CPCZ Central Committee Presidium member and chairman of the Central Trade Union Council, in Prague on 2 November. (RUDE PRAVO 3 Nov 88 p 1)

Mikulas Beno, CPCZ Central Committee secretary, attended an aktiv of railroad workers in Cierna nad Tisou on 1 November. (RUDE PRAVO 2 Nov 88 p 2)

Vasil Bilak, member of the Presidium and secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, met with Alfonso Van Dunem Mbinda, MPLA Politburo member and Angola's foreign minister, for talks in Prague on 31 October. (RUDE PRAVO 1 Nov 88 p 1)

Jan Fojtik, member of the Presidium and secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, met with a group of leftist French intellectuals in Prague on 1 November. (RUDE PRAVO 2 Nov 88 p 2)

Vladimir Herman, candidate member of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium and leading secretary of the South Moravian CPCZ regional Committee, attended the opening of a technology exhibition in Brno on 31 October. (RUDE PRAVO 1 Nov 88 p 2)

Karel Hoffmann, member of the Presidium and secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, attended the first session of the Committee for Party Work in the Czech SR, in Prague on 31 October. (RUDE PRAVO 1 Nov 88 p 1; filed as AU0311114888)

Ignac Janak, CPCZ Central Committee Presidium member and first secretary of the CPSL Central Committee, received members of the new Presidium of the Slovak Central Committee of the Union for Cooperation With the Army in Bratislava on 31 October. (PRAVDA 1 Nov 88 p 1) Janak paid a visit to the Michalovce district on 28 October. (RUDE PRAVO 31 Oct 88 p 2) Janak paid a visit to the Dunajska Streda district on 1 November. (RUDE PRAVO 2 Nov 88 p 2)

Miroslav Stepan, CPCZ Central Committee Presidium member and leading secretary of the Prague CPCZ City Committee, attended a swearing-in ceremony of a unit of Interior Ministry troops in Prague on 28 October. (RUDE PRAVO 31 Oct 88 p 1) Stepan returned from a visit to the USSR on 2 November. (RUDE PRAVO 3 Nov 88 p 2) He attended a conference of citizens' committees from Prague municipal districts on 2 November. (RUDE PRAVO 3 Nov 88 pp 1,2)

Miroslav Zavadil, CPCZ Central Committee Presidium member and chairman of the Central Trade Union Council, met with Chandra Rajeswara Rao, general secretary of the National Council of the Communist Party of India, and with Indian Textile Minister Ram Niwar Mirdha in Delhi on 27 October. (RUDE PRAVO 28 Oct 88 p 6) Zavadil returned from India on 28 October. (RUDE PRAVO 31 Oct 88 p 2)

Jaromir Johanes, CSSR minister of foreign affairs, returned from the session of the Warsaw Pact foreign ministers to Prague from Budapest on 29 October. (MLADA FRONTA 31 Oct 88 p 2) Johanes was present when Gustav Husak received Afghan Prime Minister Hasan Sharq, who—en route to a session of the UN General Assembly—made a stopover in Prague on 31 October. (RUDE PRAVO 1 Nov 88 p 1)

Text of Honecker's Congratulations to Bush

AU1111180688 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 10 Nov 88 p 1

[ND article: "Greetings Telegram From the GDR"]

[Text] East Berlin—Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council, has sent the following telegram to George Bush, vice president of the United States of America:

I convey best wishes to you on your success during the elections. By shaping mutually advantageous relations, the GDR and the United States of America can make a constructive contribution to continuing the process of disarmament and detente, and to peaceful international cooperation.

Erich Honecker,

general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council.

Daily Welcomes Bush Remarks on Summit

LD1211122388 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0317 GMT 12 Nov 88

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—NEUES DEUTSCHLAND today comments on the first statements by George Bush after his election on a new summit with the USSR and for continuity in foreign policy. The paper writes:

Most observers assume that George Bush will, in essence, continue what Ronald Reagan began in the last years of his period in office jointly with his vice president. The world expects that the new U.S. Government will continue to work together with the Soviet leadership on the most important task of taking new steps on the path of real nuclear disarmament which began with the conclusion of the treaty on the elimination of intermediate missiles. That means that the agreement on the halving of strategic arsenals will be made ready for signing in accordance with the agreement at the Moscow summit meeting. That also means advances in the direction of a halt to general nuclear tests, a global ban on chemical weapons, an essential reduction in armed forces and conventional arms between the Atlantic and the Urals, and a peaceful settlement to regional conflicts. It is positive that Bush spoke in support of a new Soviet-U.S. summit meeting, of continuity in foreign policy, immediately after his election.

In conclusion, the paper points to Erich Honecker's readiness to further expand mutually advantageous relations.

Romania's Ceausescu To Visit 17-18 Nov

LD1111184988 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1800 GMT 11 Nov 88

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—Nicolae Ceausescu, general secretary of the Romanian Communist Party and president of the Socialist Republic of Romania, will visit the GDR 17-18 November this year. He is taking up an invitation from Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR Council of State, for a working meeting.

More on Visit of FRG Chancellery's Schaeuble

Schaeuble Stresses Human Rights

LD1011155688 Hamburg DPA in German 1326 GMT 10 Nov 88

[Text] East Berlin, (DPA)—Head of the Federal Chancellory Wolfgang Schaeuble has stressed the importance of human rights during his visit to East Berlin. The responsibility of the two German states for the future must not be restricted to questions concerning military security, since peace begins with respect for the dignity and rights of individual people, Schaeuble said on Thursday during a lunch given by GDR Foreign Minister Oskar Fischer. In this sense, peace in and for Germany was "in the first instance also a matter concerning the people, their rights, and freedom. Shooting and force in whatever form do not serve peace," Schaeuble added.

The head of the Chancellory also referred to the FRG's adherence, stressed by Federal Chancellor Helmut Kohl during his visit to Moscow at the end of last month, to the goal of German unity. The German question remained open.

Schaeuble expressly welcomed the readiness now declared by the GDR for an imminent start to talks on pollution of the Elbe. This was further proof that different positions on basic questions need not necessarily prevent cooperation. Earlier the official GDR news agency ADN had reported with reference to Schaeuble's talk with state and party leader Erich Honecker that talks on keeping the Elbe clean had been agreed upon for the first months of next year.

Last year the GDR had made joint measures against the pollution of the Elbe dependent on a solution of the question of the Elbe frontier. In his toast, Fischer referred to the unsolved question of the course of the Elbe frontier—Bonn maintains that the frontier runs along the GDR river bank, while the GDR claims the frontier runs down the middle of the river—and stated that "obstacles arose again and again also in the sphere of citizenship." It was high time to "find sensible solutions to all remaining unsolved questions."

In their speeches, both Schaeuble and Fischer stressed the favorable development of tourist and visitors' traffic between the two German states. Schaeuble described it

as "particularly important" that the positive development introduced here in 1986 had continued. They remained in contact about any problems that arose here. He expressly welcomed the GDR's intention to "continue in a positive spirit the existing trends, by which, not least of all, people in both German states measure the quality of our relations."

Both men stressed the progress made since Honecker's visit to the Federal Republic in September of last year, which included the increasing exchanges in various spheres as well as the advances in tourist travel. Schaeuble mentioned the spheres of culture as well as science and technology. Fischer also mentioned the establishment of numerous town-twinning partnerships.

Schaeuble pointed out that there were setbacks as well as advances in intra-German relations. He mentioned in this connection the work of journalists and the importance of comprehensive information. "The working possibilities of journalists must not therfore be restricted," Schaeuble said, referring to restrictions on West German correspondents in the GDR. Fischer said in his speech in this connection that the working possibilities of correspondents in obtaining "factual information" were "ensured" in so far as the latter "adhere to legal stipulations."

Schaeuble also referred to the commemorative events in the two states to mark the 50th anniversary of the anti-Jewish pogroms in Germany. The Federal Government had particularly praised the fact that the GDR had founded the "New Berlin Synagogue—Centrum Judaicum" for the reconstruction of the destroyed great synagogue in East Berlin's Oranienburgerstrasse. The Federal Government would make a financial contribution to the rebuilding of the synagogue.

Praises Talks With Leaders

LD1011185488 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1746 GMT 10 Nov 88

[Text] Berlin, (ADN)—Federal Minister Dr Wolfgang Schaeuble assessed his 2-day official talks in the GDR as constructive and positive, and as supportive of the further development of relations between both German states. At a press conference in Berlin he stated on Thursday afternoon in connection with the meeting with Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR Council of State, and in connection with the talks with Foreign Minister Oskar Fischer that problems had been discussed openly and thoroughly. On both sides the talks were conducted in the spirit and with the intention of advancing the solution of these problems.

In the view of both sides the object of his official visit was to draw a kind of interim balance 14 months after the visit of Erich Honecker to the Federal Republic of Germany and after the talks with Federal Chancellor Helmut Kohl, and to check, on the basis of the communique agreed on at that time, the state of implementation of what had been agreed. Both sides noticed considerable progress in mutual relations during this time.

To the question on the results of his talks with regard to security and disarmament, Dr Schaeuble replied that both sides made independent contributions in the area of disarmament. The GDR and the Federal Republic agreed that after an early conclusion to the Vienna CSCE conference negotiations on conventional arms should begin. The aim of all efforts should be a structural nonoffensive capability. The minister affirmed the strategy of nuclear deterrence, but spoke out in support of a lower level of nuclear armaments.

Dr Schaeuble described his participation in the commemorative event of the Jewish community in the GDR the previous day as a declaration of joint responsibility and made it known in this connection that the Federal Government will provide DM 1 million for the reconstruction of the new synagogue in Berlin.

In response to further questions the minister underlined several times the will of the Federal Government to find solutions on the path of practical cooperation despite existing differing views in fundamental questions. He was returning home with a feeling that these talks had been worthwhile.

More on Talk With Honecker

LD1011143688 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1052 GMT 10 Nov 88

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council today received the FRG's federal minister for special tasks and head of the Federal Chancellory, Dr Wolfgang Schaeuble. Federal Minister Schaeuble is in the GDR for an official visit at the invitation of GDR Minister for Foreign Affairs Oskar Fischer.

Erich Honecker and Wolfgang Schaeuble discussed in a businesslike and open atmosphere current international problems as well as the state of and prospects for relations between the GDR and the FRG.

The parties agreed that in spite of remarkable positive international developments much remains to be done to secure lasting peace. They paid tribute to the significance of the treaty on the removal of intermediate-range missiles as the first and meaningful step of real disarmament, to which both German states have made an important contribution. From now on fresh, concrete steps are necessary for the reduction of confrontation as well as in forces and armaments in order to further shape tendencies toward improvement in the global political situation.

Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council, stressed that it is now a matter of making further efforts for halving the strategic nuclear weapon potentials of the USSR and the United States while adhering strictly to the ABM Treaty, the ending of nuclear weapons tests, the banning and destruction of all chemical weapons, as well as a drastic reduction of conventional arms and forces from the Atlantic to the Urals.

Erich Honecker stressed that the declaration by both states that war must never again be allowed to emanate from German soil and that only peace should do so, requires them to actively support progress in disarmament and detente. The GDR regards this as the core of political dialogue and the policy of peaceful coexistence. Erich Honecker recalled the comprehensive disarmament program submitted by the Warsaw Pact states. The consequences deriving from the program cannot be evaded in the West, either. It is time for NATO to make a move at long last.

Erich Honecker referred to the particular significance for both German states of reducing and finally eliminating nuclear weapon systems with a range of up to 500 km. He decisively opposed all efforts aimed at modernization or compensation in this area. In this connection he explained the need for regional solutions, particularly the creation of a nuclear weapon-free corridor and a zone of trust and security in Central Europe. The GDR's aim is an ABM weapons-free, disarmed Europe.

The GDR will continue to do everything to reduce confrontation and distrust and to develop dialogue and cooperation. It is in favor of an indivisible Europe of peace and cooperation, and a common European home. In this we must start from the realities.

The sides agreed that the Vienna CSCE meeting should end with a positive result without delay and should approve the mandate on the reduction of forces and conventional arms so that negotiations can begin.

Both sides agreed on the assessment that Erich Honecker's official visit to the FRG in September 1987 heralded a new stage in relations between the GDR and the FRG and have a long-term effect. The joint communique agreed then has proved itself as a significant and practical document. Since then considerable progress has been made in some areas on the basis of it. There was agreement to progress further along this path. The extension of relations between the two German states remains an important and stabilizing element in international developments.

Erich Honecker and Wolfgang Schaeuble discussed a series of issues in connection with the further development of relations between the GDR and the FRG. It was agreed to continue talks on keeping the Elbe clean in the first months of 1989.

Erich Honecker stressed that many issues in mutual relations could been solved more quickly if the FRG were to be more accommodating on open basic political questions. Mutual respect for sovereignty, territorial integrity, and noninterference, respect for mutual interests as well as an agreement as far-reaching as possible on security issues are important conditions for a constructive development of relations.

Erich Honecker expressed his gratitude for the greetings conveyed by Wolfgang Schaeuble and asked him to greet Federal President Richard Von Weizsaecker and Federal Chancellor Helmut Kohl on his behalf.

Taking part in the talks were: Oskar Fischer, GDR minister for foreign affairs; State Secretary Frank-Joachim Herrmann, head of the State Council Chairman's Office; Horst Neubauer, head of the GDR's permanent mission in the FRG; Karl Seidel, head of department at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs; as well as Dr Hans-Otto Braeutigam, head of the FRG's permanent mission in the GDR; Dr Klaus-Juergen Duisberg, head of a ministerial department; and Dr Burkhardt Dobiey, head of a ministerial department.

Discusses Issues With Fischer

LD1011173888 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1230 GMT 10 Nov 88

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—GDR minister for foreign affairs, Oskar Fischer, and Dr. Wolfgang Schaeuble, FRG federal minister for special tasks and chief of the Chancellery today continued their exchange of opinions on international and bilateral issues.

Oskar Fischer reasserted the GDR's opinion that the profession by both German states that war should never again emanate from German soil and that only peace should originate there, would best be translated into action if they both were to actively support further progress in disarmament and detente. The GDR foreign minister expressed ideas to Federal Minister Schaeuble on how both German states could contribute to the disarmament process by joint or parallel actions.

The parties discussed current issues in GDR-FRG relations. Oskar Fischer and Dr. Wolfgang Schaeuble agreed that a new stage in relations had been heralded by the official visit by Erich Honecker, SED Central Committee General Secretary and GDR's State Council Chairman to the FRG. They drew up a balance sheet of the results achieved in fulfilling the joint communique issued 8 September 1987.

Oskar Fischer stressed mutual respect for sovereignty, territorial integrity, and noninterference. He stressed that respect for mutual interests and as far-reaching an agreement as possible on security issues was an important pre-condition for the constructive development of relations to the advantage of people in both states.

Oskar Fischer and Dr. Wolfgang Schaeuble stressed the usefulness of the exchange of opinions, which was held in an open and businesslike atmosphere.

Taking part in the talks were, head of the GDR's Permanent Mission to the FRG, Horst Neubauer, members of the directorate of the Ministry for Foreign Affairs, envoys Karl Seidel and Manfred Niklas, as well as the head of the FRG Permanent Mission to the GDR, Dr. Hans Otto Braeutigam, and the ministerial heads of departments, Dr. Klaus-Juergen Duisberg and Dr. Burkhard Dobiey.

Fischer, Schaeuble Luncheon Toasts

LD1011184488 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1249 GMT 10 Nov 88

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—GDR minister for foreign affairs, Oskar Fischer, today gave a lunch in Berlin to honor Dr. Wolfgang Schaeuble federal minister for special tasks and chief of the Chancellery.

Invited from the GDR side to the Palais on Unter den Linden were Joachim Herrmann, Politburo member and SED Central Committee secretary; Dr. Guenther Maleuda, State Council deputy chairman; Dr. Herbert Weiz, Council of Ministers deputy chairman; State Secretary Frank-Joachim Herrmann, head of the Chancellery of the chairman of the Council of Ministers; Ambassador Horst Neubauer, head of the GDR Permanent Mission to the FRG, and others.

Representing the FRG were Dr. Hans Otto Braeutigam, head of the FRG Permanent Mission to the GDR, the guest's delegation, as well as others.

Oskar Fischer and Dr. Wolfgang Schaeuble both gave toasts.

Oskar Fischer gave the following toast:

Most Honored Mr. Federal Minister, ladies and gentleman, dear comrades and friends: Allow me, Mr. Minister, to welcome you and your delegation once more.

We have discussed a broad range of international problems as well as important issues of bilateral relations. This is as useful as it is timely. We agree that everything must be done to maintain peace for ourselves and for our children. This is the current task that decides everything. In spite of the turn for the better, which is tangible in many areas, much still remains to be done to make reason and realism the determining criteria in international relations everywhere. We feel satisfaction and relief at the INF Treaty and the start of the destruction of the "devilry" in the USSR and in the United States.

Both German states have done their part for this first real disarmament treaty and this practical disarmament step. The proverb "The beginning is always difficult," has certainly proven itself to be true. However, it is also said: "Whoever says A must also say B." Further steps must now be taken without delay to make the vital process of disarmament irrevocable. This may also be difficult and hard work, but it remains the basic requirement for the future. Thus the advent of nuclear disarmament, which started hopefully, must not not be proved fruitless again by "modernization" or "compensation," no matter where and in what manner.

Mr. Federal Minister, both German states profess the commitment to do everything to ensure that war never again emanates from German soil and that only peace will originate here.

That is what is in the joint communique agreed upon as a significant result of the official visit by the GDR'S highest representative to the FRG. They will do justice to this commitment if they intensively support further progress on disarmament and detente. There are grounds for optimism on this because there is agreement or positions that come close to one another on a series of important issues. I am thinking of the halving of the number of the U.S. and Soviet strategic weapons while strictly adhering to the ABM Treaty, the general and complete banning of chemical weapons, the step by step ending of nuclear tests and the radical reduction of conventional forces and armaments from the Atlantic to the Urals without unilateral advantages for one side or the other. The GDR regards the active promotion of the process of disarmament and detente by both German states as the heart of their political dialogue. Peace is the first human right.

In this regard I point to the detailed proposals by the Warsaw Treaty states on *all* areas of disarmament as well as confidence- and security- building measures, as they were only recently approved and reasserted by the meeting of Warsaw Treaty states' foreign ministers in Budapest. They leave out no kind of weapon, no verification of disarmament. Not the least important is a significant reduction in and the eventual complete removal of tactical nuclear weapons. The macabre sentence: 'The shorter the range, the more German dead' has so far lost nothing of its threat or its justification.

We are in favor of pushing apart both alliances' military potentials. The states lying at the dividing line between NATO and the Warsaw Pact would lose nothing by this. On the contrary, all would be more secure, but not absolutely secure. Military confrontation in central Europe could also be lessened through regional solutions. They would maintain and increase confidence, and stabilize, promote global solutions. Thus the proposal of a nuclear weapon-free corridor and a chemical weapon-free zone remains more topical than ever. The significance of our latest proposal for a "zone of trust and security in central Europe" lies in this.

We consider it important to think about more cooperation between the two German states in disarmament and security. This would accord with Article 5 of the Basic

Treaty. Of course, the two states remain members of their alliance systems; they remain the same. But for this reason, particularly, and in view of their geopolitical position they should constantly check, each for itself or both together, how they can fulfill their commitment to disarmament and detente. Here I would like to expressly reaffirm that the GDR remains prepared and will do everything possible to reduce confrontation and mistrust and to develop dialogue and cooperation.

In the common European home, states with different systems must get along well with each other. The Helsinki Final Act constitutes the code for peace, security, good-neighborliness, and coexistence. The 35 CSCE states are working to shape it further at the Vienna review meeting. With respect, a sense of proportion, and willingness to compromise on everyone's part, it should be possible to conclude the meeting soon with good results and arrange a further meeting.

I am pleased, Mr Minister, that we have been able to discuss interstate relations. Their development confirms that the official visit by the SED Central Committee general secretary and chairman of the State Council, Erich Honecker, to the FRG in September 1987 introduced a new stage in relations.

The joint communique is a document of peaceful coexistence and is proving to be a realistic basis for practical, political cooperation.

One can note with satisfaction that a great deal has been achieved since September 1987. It includes the continuation of dialogue with representatives of political life in the Federal Republic, to which your visit testifies, Mr Minister. It also includes the implementation of the agreements signed during Erich Honecker's visit, the signing of further accords since then, the multifarious cultural exchange, and the concluding of numerous town-twinning arrangements. Working possibilities for correspondents for objective information—and I repeat, objective information—are guaranteed, if they keep to the legal requirements. There is, on the whole, positive development in the economic sphere. Tourist and visitors' traffic is considerable, and this includes the understanding on the transit rules to begin in 1990.

In short, much has been done for the benefit of the two states and for their peoples. Certainly there are problems, and they are well-known on both sides. Here I would just like to take the example of the unsettled issue of the course of the Elbe border, and in the matter of state citizenship strains still constantly arise.

The time has arrived to find sensible solutions for all unanswered questions, because this would help to further normalize relations. After all, they are an important element of stability in Europe, if not beyond.

Respect for sovereignty, territorial integrity, noninterference, consideration for each other's interests, and coming to as far-reaching an agreement as possible in security questions remain the conditions for the development of good-neighborly relations.

Peaceful coexistence and especially fruitful cooperation require respect for the realities in Europe; the opposite leads nowhere, but prevents sensible progress in solving problems and in international detente. The wheel of history cannot be reversed, and he who does not acknowledge the past and understand the present cannot shape the future. Karl Marx also bequeathed this truth to us.

Mr Minister, we have discussed how progress can be made on the basis of the accords reached between the two German states. Thus we will continue the talks on the Elbe, achieve further progress with the treaties signed in Bonn in September of last year, and briskly conduct negotiations for further accords.

All in all, it is clear that with prudence and a sense of proportion, useful results for both sides can be achieved. I repeat what has already been said: The expansion of relations with your state, Mr Federal Minister, is seen and treated by us as being indispensable because it is a stabilizing element in international developments. We regard it as an example of successful rejection of confrontation and a turning toward cooperation.

I am sure, as the statements by the top representative of our state, Erich Honecker, testify, that as long as your side wants the same thing, fresh impetus for this cooperation can emanate from your visit, Mr Minister.

I would like to ask you, honored guests, to raise your glasses with me to the flourishing development of relations between the GDR and the FRG, to your health, Mr Federal Minister, and to the health of all present.

Dr Wolfgang Schaeuble gave the following toast:

Dear Minister Fischer, gentlemen: I thank you, Mr Minister, for the friendly reception and for the hospitality shown to my companions and myself.

The talks which I had today with General Secretary Honecker and you, Mr Minister, followed the moving ceremonies yesterday in Frankfurt and here in Berlin in which the crimes committed by Germans against Jewish fellow citizens and against the Jewish people under National Socialist Rule were remembered. The date 9 November at the same time recalls the end of World War I 70 years ago. Both are dates in our history, which links us for good and for bad, and for which we carry joint responsibility.

In this regard, the Federal Government particularly lauds the fact that the GDR Government has established the "new synagogue Berlin—Centrum Judaicum" foundation to commemorate the Jewish victims and to preserve and care for Jewish culture and tradition. The Federal Ggovernment will also make a financial contribution to the foundation for the reconstruction of the synagogue.

Just as we are jointly responsible for the German past, so we are also jointly responsible for the German future.

It is the supreme commandment for both states in Germany to prevent every type of war. Questions of security and arms control naturally have a place in our political dialogue. Both German states are not able, however, to act on their own initiative here, and they should not attempt to do so either. Rather, each must make its specific contribution in the context of its own alliance.

We also do not accept zone concepts, which in the last resort only lead to insecurities and have a destabilizing effect. It is our aim to arrive at an equal balance of powers at a lower level without losing overall stability. The treaty on the worldwide elimination of all U.S. and Soviet intermediate-range nuclear missiles, which went into force on 1 June 1988, was an important step in this direction. The Federal Government hopes that it will open the way for more far-reaching disarmament agreements according to the principle: He who has more, must disarm more. And: Only reliable verfication creates trust.

Our concern is directed above all at the existing imbalance in Europe, in particular at the great superiority of the Warsaw Pact in the area of conventional weapons. The early beginning of results-oriented negotiations on establishing conventional stability in all of Europe seems to us, therefore, pressing. It is also important for this reason, that the Vienna CSCE Follow-Up meeting is concluded quickly now with a balanced final document which is rich in content.

Our joint responsibility for the future cannot and, of course, must not restrict itself to questions of military security. Peace begins—and this lesson from our history was again called to our attention in a vivid way yesterday—with respect for the dignity and the rights of the individual. For this reason, respect for human rights is also described in the CSCE Final Act as well as "an essential factor for peace, justice, and welfare," which are for their part required in order to guarantee the development of friendly relations and cooperation between states. In this regard, peace in and for Germany is first of all a matter of people, of their rights and their freedom. Shots and violence in any form do not serve peace.

We are aware that both German states represent different positions in fundamental questions. This was very clearly expressed in the speeches by Federal Chancellor Kohl and General Secretary Honecker during the latter's visit to the FRG last year. The federal chancellor recently reaffirmed in Moscow that we hold fast to the objective of German unity. The German question remains open for us.

We should neither remain silent about, nor gloss over, the differences which exist between us on this and on other issues. This would be dishonest and not beneficial for our relations. But these differences do not need to impede dialogue and cooperation on concrete issues. Since the conclusion of the Basic Treaty almost 16 years ago now, not only has a mesh of treaties and regulations been created between the two German states, but also, it has been possible to maintain dialogue even in difficult times, and to find practical solutions for joint problems.

It was possible for my talks today with General Secretary Honecker and with yourself, Mr Minister, to follow from the visit by the general secretary to the FRG. A certain part of what both sides committed themselves to at that time has since been implemented. All in all, we have made some progress since September 1987. It is particularly important that—as promised at that time—positive developments in travel, possible since 1986, have been continued. Of course, there continue to be problems with this. We have spoken about this, and I think that we will be continuing the dialogue. But I expressly welcome the fact that the GDR intends to positively continue the developments to date, by which people on both states measure the quality of our relations.

Also encouraging is the growing exchange in various spheres, particularly in the cultural, scientific, and technological fields.

The agreement on environmental protection, signed during the visit of General Secretary Honecker's visit opened up another field for cooperation above and beyond those mentioned; its importance will probably increase. The realization is growing in the two German states that we are also jointly responsible for preserving the natural foundations of our peoples' lives. This is why I particularly welcome now the GDR Government's readiness to begin talks quickly on keeping the Elbe clean. This further proves the fact that differing views on basic issues need not impede cooperation.

In Berlin as well, since September of last year, improvements—particularly in travel and visitors' traffic—have been achieved. The agreements signed on 5 October 1988 concerning transit charges and other traffic matters, as well as the current negotiations on expanding the rail link between Berlin and Hanover, also serve the interests of Berlin while forming important elements in our bilateral relations. However, there are issues and problems concerning Berlin which still require solving.

We must continue the dialogue on these. It is necessary that you know how important we consider it that Berlin, on our side, is always fully included in cooperation.

It is in the nature of the relationship between the two German states that there should be reverses as well as progress. In our talks, I have referred to certain problems which could lead to lasting pressures.

Fruitful and constructive relations are not merely of governmental concern. The people must be involved. The people must see that they also derive immediate benefit from them. Cooperation requires broad-based trust. The work of journalists, of giving—as stated in the joint communique of September 1987—"comprehensive objective information by press radio and television"—has great importance in this matter. Working opportunities for journalists therefore ought not to be restricted, for this reason; rather, they should—as agreed in the communique—receive "the greatest possible support." On both sides, we must make efforts to avoid pressures. What has been so far been achieved in our relations is, if it is compared with the earlier situation, considerable. It is worthwhile preserving this in order to build further upon it. But this requires new efforts again and again. The task which is set for us by the division of Germany is not easy. However, we must shoulder it, in order to measure up to the responsibility for peace and for mankind which flows from our joint history.

In this spirit, Mr Minister, I raise my glass to the continuation of a policy and of practical cooperation between our states, and to your personal health and the health of all those present.

Booklet Published on Honecker's Moscow Visit

AU1411100688 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 10 Nov 88 p 2

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—"Friendly Meeting Between Erich Honecker and Mikhail Gorbachev" is the title of a booklet on the visit of Erich Honecker, SED Central Committee general secretary and GDR State Council chairman, to Moscow from 27 through 29 September 1988, which will be published in the next few days by Dietz Publishers, Berlin.

The booklet can be obtained at public bookshops at a price of M1.80.

NATO Secretary General Criticized for Attitude

AU1111165988 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 10 Nov 88 p 2

["W.M." commentary: "Recommendations of an Expert"]

[Text] Even as NATO secretary general, the former FRG Defense Minister Woerner continues his lifework, which is to incessantly conjure up the horror picture of the threat from the East. He accuses all who think differently of "dangerously misjudging" the situation. The arms potential of the Warsaw Pact "has not decreased by the slightest extent," he claims. "The Soviet Union continues to invest in military equipment without interruption, without making any reduction."

Real experts see things differently. William A. Arkin, head of the program for national security at the Washington Institute for Political Studies, bases his analysis of the situation on the Warsaw Pact military doctrine, which is "aimed at military equality and equal security for all," as he points out. He mentions the fact that the Soviet Union suspended its nuclear tests for 19 months on a unilateral basis as evidence of this. Despite the cautious attitude in the West, all signs hint that there is no development within the Soviet Armed Forces that is not in agreement with official USSR statements.

Arkin stresses that essential changes have taken place in the Soviet arms production and provides numerous details to prove this. According to information from CIA circles, Soviet military expenditure is declining. This was also admitted by U.S. Chief of the Joint Chiefs of Staff Crowe during the visit to the United States by his counterpart Akhromeyev.

On the basis of all these changes, Arkin draws the conclusion that the United States should take advantage of the Soviet willingness to negotiate mutually advantageous solutions. The new President of the United States himself should make constructive proposals and not only react to proposals, he suggests.

The NATO secretary general would be well-advised to bear in mind this recommendation from Washington. However, he first would have to step down from the propaganda platform and face the facts. He should try to find out what really serves the security interests of the NATO states.

Grosz, Straub Congratulate Bush

LD1011192388 Budapest MTI in English 1840 GMT 10 Nov 88

[Text] Budapest, November 10 (MTI)—Karoly Grosz, general secretary of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party and chairman of the Council of Ministers, and Bruno F. Straub, president of the Presidential Council, cabled their good wishes in separate messages to George Bush, on the occasion of his election as President of the United States of America.

CPSU's Yakovlev Continues Visit, Talks

Discusses Soviet-Hungarian Ties

LD1011232188 Budapest MTI in English 2212 GMT 10 Nov 88

[Text] Budapest, November 10 (MTI)—As reported, Karoly Grosz, general secretary of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party and chairman of the Council of Ministers, met Aleksandr Yakovlev, member of the Political Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union Central Committee and secretary of the Central Committee headquarters. Aleksandr Yakovlev is visiting Hungary at the invitation of the HSWP Central Committee.

At the cordial and comradely meeting, the HSWP general secretary discussed the period since the party conference. He stressed that stabilizing the economic situation, the creation of the conditions of long-term advance require further political efforts, the acceptance of sacrifices by society, and firm and consistent actions of the party. Methods that best adapt to national characteristics, and efficient utilization of the internal reserves of society have special importance. Alongside the internationalist commitment of the HSWP, this is the most important element of Hungarian politics today.

Aleksandr Yakovlev—on commission from the CPSU leadership—assured the Hungarian communists of the support of the Soviet party, and wished much success to the realization of the resolutions of the party conference.

He said that the CPSU considers as its main tasks to implement the resolutions of the 19th conference, and consistent realization of the political and economic reform. He also said they strive, with the transformation of the political system and the renewal of social relations, to eliminate the alienation of man from power and production in their country. On the basis of perestroyka, the social climate has considerably changed but main tasks still remain.

Mr Grosz stressed at the meeting that Hungarian public opinion follows with great interest and sincere sympathy the changes taking place in the Soviet Union, and that the HSWP supports the policy of perestroyka.

At talks the sides noted they hold it necessary to update Hungarian-Soviet cooperation, and to eliminate the irrevelant matters that the tradition of relations between the two countries does not merit. It is the intention of the two parties to develop Hungarian-Soviet political, cultural and scientific relations, to extend contacts between the people, and to develop efficient and modern development of direct relations between the companies. The harmony in the policies of the HSWP and the CPSU, understanding for the opportunities of one another and ensuing methods and confidence between the parties create a good basis for further development, they stated.

The general secretary of the HSWP highly appreciated the assistance which the party and state organs of the Soviet Union provide to safeguarding the national profile of the Hungarians in sub-Carpathia, their cultural development, and their fostering of relations with Hungary. He stressed that this is an important element of Hungarian-Soviet relations, and also a factor of international importance.

The sides reciprocally stressed the importance of examining the common and national experiences acquired in the building of socialism and their genuine utilization. The two parties consider their cooperation in this field an important reserve in the development of Hungarian-Soviet relations. Their comprehensive programme to further develop ideological cooperation, an end served by the document signed today by representatives of the HSWP and the CPSU. [sentence as received]

Timely international issues were also discussed at the meeting.

During the day, Aleksandr Yakovlev met Janos Berecz, member of the HSWP Political Committee and secretary of the Central Committee. The politicians exchanged views on how the expansion of ideological cooperation of the two parties can contribute to the implementation of the reform programme, the main aim of which is to accelerate the favourable changes in society and economy, both in Hungary and the Soviet Union.

Matyas Szuros, secretary of the HSWP Central Committee, also held talks with Aleksandr Yakovlev during the day. Reviewing Hungarian-Soviet relations and the development of international life, they turned particular attention to the European situation and issues of human rights. They agreed that the new foreign political way of thinking influences the talks aimed at easing both global and regional tensions, and contributes to accelerating the work at disarmament forums.

During the day, a document that serves to further strengthen the relation of the two parties was signed by Janos Berecz and Aleksandr Yakovlev. The new comprehensive programme of further developing ideological cooperation between the HSWP and the CPSU determines the main tendencies of ideological, scientific and cultural cooperation. The document sets down that on

the basis of the congresses of the two parties, and the national conference of the HSWP and the 19th all-union party conferences of the CPSU, the two parties improve cooperation in the field of intellectual life. In harmony with the demands in the current stage of development of socialism, they are to perfect the cooperation forms, and develop its content. It is their intention for ideological, cultural and scientific cooperation to be more closely connected to transformation, to the policy aimed at renewing all areas of social life, and to the reform of the economy and politics.

The main themes of ideological cooperation are the creative development of Marxism-Leninism, the interpretation of the fundamental issues of the socialism of our age, and the role of the party as the political vanguard of society, and the examination of the related theoretical issues, the exploration of the political and ideological aspects of democratization and publicity, and the creation of socialist pluralism, the examination and generalization of the experiences of socialist building. The HSWP and the CPSU cooperate in the examination of the global issues of our age, the issues of safeguarding human civilization, humanitarian issues, and the sphere of problems of human rights.

Aleksandr Yakovlev, accompanied by Geza Kotai, head of department of the HSWP Central Committee, visited the Hungarian Foreign Ministry where he was welcomed by Peter Varkonyi. The Soviet politician met with the party and state leaders of the ministry.

Discussing Soviet foreign policy, Aleksandr Yakovlev said they wish to continue the series of new initiatives, so the new foreign political way of thinking be understandable throughout the world. Discussing the sphere of issues of European conventional disarmament, the foreign affairs secretary of the CPSU Central Committee stressed the importance of the common stand of the socialist countries, and reconfirmed the related standpoint of the Soviet Union. With respect to the Middle East conflict, Aleksandr Yakovlev said its prolongation prevents the solution of other international conflicts. He pressed for a summoning of an international conference in the interest of creating peace in the Middle East.

In the evening, Aleksandr Yakovlev met with personalities of Hungarian cultural and scientific life.

Meets Janos Kadar, Others

LD1111134388 Budapest MTI in English 1302 GMT 11 Nov 88

[Text] Budapest, November 11 (MTI)—On Friday [11 Nov], Janos Kadar, President of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, met Aleksandr Yakovlev, member of the political committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and Secretary of the Central Committee, at the Central Committee headquarters in Budapest.

It was noted with satisfaction that in recent years the cooperation of the two parties had risen to new qualitative levels in the spirit of independence, equal rights, international solidarity and common responsibility.

The discussion was attended by Janos Berecz, member of the HSWP political committee and secretary of the Central Committee, and Imre Szokai, deputy head of department at the Central Committee. Also present was Boris Stukalin, ambassador of the Soviet Union to Hungary.

Holds News Conference With Berecz

LD1111204788 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1730 GMT 11 Nov 88

[Text] [Announcer] Here is Istvan Kulcsar's report on Aleksandr Yakovlev's program today and his news conference:

[Kulcsar] It has been quite a while since so many Hungarian and foreign reporters have assembled in the Hilton Hotel ballroom in Budapest. This afternoon MSZMP Central Committee Spokesman Laszlo Major opened the news conference and outlined Yakovlev's program. The CPSU Central Committee secretary responsible for foreign affairs met in Budapest with Karoly Grosz, Janos Kadar, Janos Berecz, Matyas Szuros, leaders of the capital, leading staff members of the party center and the Foreign Ministry, and outstanding personalities of cultural and scientific life. He visited enterprises and tomorrow he will meet Cardinal Laszlo Paskai in Esztergom.

After this Aleksandr Yakovlev—without any introduction—immediately answered questions.

A Hungarian TV correspondent wanted to know whether his discussions in Budapest covered the situation of the Hungarian minority in Romania. The Soviet leader stated that this is a Hungarian-Romanian issue; it is the affair of two sovereign states. He himself does not know about the issue in detail, and even if he did know, he would still not comment on it because this issue is too sensitive, too touchy.

Yakovlev's discussion partner and companion at the news conference, Janos Berecz, here recalled the statement that appeared this morning. According to this, in talks with Yakovlev Karoly Grosz acknowledged the support which the Soviet party and state organs are giving to maintaining the national features of Magyardom in Sub-Carpathia and to fostering relations with Hungary.

In answer to another question, the Soviet Central Committee secretary spoke about the commission, led by him, which is continuing to reexamine past repressions. He said that in fact no kind of Trotskyist or Bukharinite

center existed. It is true that there was a worker opposition, but Lenin himself recommended its leaders in the Central Committee. In the near future they will reexamine the cases of the Jewish Anti-Fascist Committee and of the Industrial Party.

After this I asked him:

[Begin recording] [Kulcsar] Istvan Kulcsar, Hungarian radio: I would like to ask our guest what impressions he has about the reform of political institutions in Hungary, with special regard for the fact that those laws which will make possible the evolution of a multiparty system are facing approval [elfogadas elott allnak].

[Yakovlev, in Russian fading into superimposed Hungarian report] It is very difficult for me to interpret what is happening in Hungary, especially the measures to be implemented in the political structure, answered Yakovlev. This would be simply impossible, too, on the basis of three or four conversations. I think I would not be convincing if I were to evaluate the measures that have now been decided by the Hungarian leadership. We in the Soviet Union have been dealing for 3 years with reform issues. I myself am also a participant in these debates, but not even I can reply to all questions related to this. Everything is still in progress. The processes (?in the meantime) give birth to unexpected movements, newer processes. I do not want to evade an answer, but this is really how it is. I can state one thing with certainty: From today's conversations I have concluded that the Hungarian leadership firmly desires to carry out reforms and the advancing of socialist ideals along this path, said Aleksandr Yakovlev. [end recording]

[Kulcsar] After this, several journalists, including reporters from THE NEW YORK TIMES and the BBC, returning again and again to the question, asked the speakers for their opinions about the chances, the future, of a multiparty system in Hungary, in the socialist countries in general. The Soviet party Central Committee secretary carefully evaded a substantive answer, and finally said: This is something about which the responsible leaders of the countries concerned have to think.

[Kulcsar continues] Janos Berecz gave the following answer to one of the questions which was asked repeatedly.

[Begin Berecz recording] The government decided that it will submit by the end of this year the draft law on assembly and association, developed in the wake of a social debate, to the National Assembly. The law on association does not exclude the possibility of founding political parties and, as often happens in such cases, the correspondents immediately stopped listening and rushed to the phone to announce that the multiparty system had been been introduced in Hungary.

They should have paid attention to the second half of the statement as well. This went as follows: The government will prepare a separate draft law for the regulation of the founding and functioning of parties and other matters and will submit it to the National Assembly. The haste with which it is attempted to delineate certain tentes of a new constitution under preparation is antidemocratic.

The National Assembly only recently created a commission to prepare the Constitution; it is not possible to create a constitution with statements and pressure through statements. Let us leave the preparation of the draft to the experts and then, taking the social debate into consideration, it is the National Assembly which will have to decide. Thus, the further development of the system of political institutions is built according to the plans, calmly, in the longer term—and this requires calm from the press as well. [end recording]

Queried on Ties With U.S.

LD1211004088 Budapest Television Service in Hungarian 2115 GMT 11 Nov 88

[Interview with A. Yakovlev, "a prominent member of the Soviet leadership", by correspondent Ferenc Sztaniszlo; date and place not given—recorded; Yakovlev in Russian with superimposed Hungarian translation; no video available]

[Text] [Sztaniszlo] Do you consider an early summit between Mikhail Gorbachev and George Bush possible?

[Yakovlev] You know, the Americans have only just elected George Bush and, consequently, I think that it is too early to make any predictions about a summit; especially since he will assume the office only in January.

[Sztaniszlo] What do you expect from a Bush presidency?

[Yakovlev] Our position is that we do not really expect anything extraordinary from it. In the case in point we did not favor either candidate, taking it as our point of departure that this was exclusively an internal matter for the United States. Besides this, the historical experiences also warn us that the struggle before the presidential election means nothing. Our view is that the process which began with the participation, among others, of Mr Bush, the new President, must be carried on. I believe that the continuation will be there.

The new U.S. president is well informed regarding the negotiations which have taken place between the United States and the Soviet Union in recent times. As far as I know, he associated himself with this policy during the time of the Reagan Administration and we hope that he will not give up this position and will continue this policy.

This policy is favorable to us. We have succeeded in reaching certain results, among them the elimination of intermediate-range weapons in Europe. We hope that this process will continue in the direction of the reduction of strategic weapons by 50 percent and the banning of chemical weapons. We consider that this will provide new impetus also as regards the reduction of conventional weapons in Europe.

Our view is that decisive measures can be expected in the world in the interest of an economic upswing as well, from the point of view of economic relations and trade. We for our part at any rate intend to strengthen further the relations of this sort with the United States in all spheres. We shall see.

Meets Cardinal Primate Paskai

LD1211164888 Budapest MTI in English 1533 GMT 12 Nov 88

[Text] Budapest, November 12 (MTI)—On Saturday Aleksandr Yakovlev, member of the Political Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and secretary of the Central Committee, paid a visit to Esztergom. He was accompanied by Janos Berecz, member of the Political Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party and secretary of the Central Committee. In the archiepiscopal Palace the leading Soviet politician met Cardinal Primate Laszlo Paskai, archbishop of Esztergom. The meeting was attended by Under-Secretary of State Imre Miklos, president of the State Office for Church Affairs. Afterwards Mr Yakovlev and party saw round the Esztergom Basilica and treasure.

Mr Yakovlev invited Cardinal Laszlo Paskai for a visit to Sub-Carpathia. The invitation was accepted, and the date of the visit will be fixed at a later date, probably for next spring.

Kadar Receives Romanian Ambassador

LD1011212988 Budapest MTI in English 1950 GMT 10 Nov 88

[Text] Budapest, November 10 (MTI)—Janos Kadar, president of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, received the introductory visit of Traian Pop, ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the Socialist Republic of Romania accredited to Hungary.

Bishop Toth Criticizes Romanian Village Policy

AU0911120888 Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER RUNDSCHAU in German 9 Nov 88 p 4

[EPD/"Idea" report: "Bishop Scolds Romanians; 'Hungarian and German Minorities Are Suppressed'"]

[Text] Bad Wildungen—Hungarian Bishop Karoly Toth (Budapest) severely criticized the so-called "village planning program" in Romania. In the synod of the Protestant Church in Germany (EKD), the president of the Ecumenical Council of Churches in Hungary called the destruction of several thousand villages in the neighboring country the "final stage of the cultural and political suppression" of the Hungarian and German minorities "which has been practiced for decades." In Toth's opinion, the program which is advanced by Head of State Nicolae Ceausescu violates basic human rights. Only the world community can effectively help the minorities in Romania.

However, the problems of the Hungarian and German minorities are only part of the violation of human rights in Romania, Toth stated. The basic rights of the entire population are not secured. Every day, several hundred people flee across the border to Hungary. "We regard it as a moral duty to accomodate them and to supply them with food," the bishop of the Reformed Church said.

Several participants in the EKD synod called for a sharper condemnation of human rights violations in Romania. However, Bishop Martin Kruse, chairman of the EKD Council, warned of "words that are too loud." It is not only the suffering people that must be considered, but also "those who have to stand up for the Church in Transylvania."

Romanian Village Destruction Plan Protested

LD1111135288 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1730 GMT 10 Nov 88

[Text] Hungarians in Slovakia are protesting against the Romanian village destruction. The appeal, which is dated 20 September, has just reached MTI. The signatories are 3,000 Hungarian workers, students, teachers, scientific workers, and officials in Slovakia. The appeal states that this is an inhuman plan, the realization of which would affect not just Romania, but all the people of Europe. Ultimately the people, deprived even of the possibility of defense, would be moved to forced dwellings. The appeal of the Hungarians in Slovakia calls the situation of the 2.5 million Hungarians in Transylvania particularly tragic.

The signatories ask the governments of the world and international public opinion to condemn the plan and bring about the halting of the Romanian village destruction.

Grosz Discusses International Ties

AU1011164188 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 8 Nov 88 p 3

[Interview with MSZMP General Secretary and Premier Karoly Grosz by NEPSZABADSAG correspondent Andras Kanyo: "We Are Developing Our Relations With Every Country on Basis of Principles"—in the train taking the Hungarian delegation home from Vienna on 5 November]

[Text] [Kanyo] You have traveled a lot in the second half of this year. You visited Moscow, Warsaw, Berlin, the United States, Arad, and Tehran, and now you have concluded a 3-day visit in Vienna. Don't these trips take up too much time, and aren't they tiring?

[Grosz] These are far from being tourist trips, and they take a lot of time and are very tiring, but they are also indispensable. These talks are in harmony with the tasks formulated in our program of social and economic development, and they contribute to the implementation of this program. Maintaining contacts with the outside world is part of our traditional international policy. We are searching for opportunities of cooperation, and in places where these conditions of cooperation are traditionally positive, we are enriching them with new forms. The world is changing constantly and is creating new conditions. We maintain high level relations with the socialist community, and, as a whole, these relations are efficient, but this does not mean that we can comfortably rest on our laurels. There is no problem with the quantity here, but we must develop the intensity of our relations and our domestic interests, and raise them to a new qualitative level.

Our economic relations with the developed capitalist countries have slowed down, and even declined in recent years. Thus, the meetings held in the past year have contributed to the renewal of our previously well-functioning relations, and in the case of the United States, the visit contributed to raising our contacts to a higher level.

As one is not supposed to travel without an invitation, the frequency of our recent trips also reflects the increased interest in Hungarian domestic policy. It is our obligation to fulfill these demands. If opportunities emerge for building new contacts, like in Iran, we should make use of these opportunities.

In addition to all this, the development in the cooperation between the two big powers makes it possible and even obligatory for every country to take its share in the process of detente. Anyone who fails to comply with this, will exclude himself. Therefore, one has to open one's eyes when going about the world. In places where the conditions for cooperation have become ripe, one should develop these relations systematically and on the basis of principles, and not hastily, and taking into account national and general interests, and one must act for the benefit of detente. It does not help the universal human interests if we isolate ourselves because of obsolete political labels whose time has passed. Interstate relations must be freed of ideology.

[Kanyo] We were heavily criticized for creating a dialogue with the ROK.

[Grosz] Look, the world is changing constantly. We are witnessing major changes in Southeast Asia and in the area surrounding the Korean Peninsula too, and we cannot disregard these changes. As for the ROK, this is a country with a dynamically developing economy. Why should we bury our heads in the sand? Why could we not cooperate with the ROK? Some people accuse us of creating economic and diplomatic relations with the ROK because of our domestic difficulties and financial problems, and of renouncing our principles and forgetting about internationalism in the process. These statements are not true.

[Kanyo] And what about Hungarian-Israeli relations?

[Grosz] Our total trade turnover with Israel is worth $20 million. No one can seriously believe that we would give up our principles for this. Far from it. It is, however, a fact that we have not had a say in the events taking place in the Middle East for the last 20 years, and, by breaking off diplomatic relations, we excluded ourselves from the dialogue. We must put an end to the situation in which we kept shouting onto the field from outside. We must participate in the game, and only thus can we contribute to the result. It is also important that several hundreds of thousands of people in both countries are affected by Hungarian-Israeli relations. If the international situation shows an improvement, our citizens are justified in expecting their government not to isolate them from their relatives living in the other country, but help connect the loose ties. Therefore, we are standing on principled bases in building up new contacts, and we advance calmly even if our steps do not meet with understanding everywhere. At the same time, we do not object if others judge the changes that are occuring in the world differently. Nor can we object even if some people place their national interests above universal interests, although I must say that we do not sympathize with such behavior. To avoid any misunderstanding, let me point out that we respect the representation of national interests, but we do not agree if these national interests are placed above international interests.

[Kanyo] How do Hungarian-Austrian relations fit into the process you have just outlined?

[Grosz] We have traditionally good, I might say special, relations with neighboring Austria. Now, however, we have to consider two, qualitatively new phenomena. Tourism has taken on mass dimensions on the Hungarian side too. Previously, tourism was rather one-sided. Characteristic of the new situation is that the number of Austrians visiting Hungary is expected to increase by 30 percent this year, while the number of Hungarians visiting Austria is expected to increase by 400 percent. The increase on our side is a result of the new passport regulations.

[Kanyo] This is accompanied by a considerable outflow of hard currency.

[Grosz] Yes, this has cost us $250 million so far this year. For us, however, this is a political, rather than a financial issue. I would like to reassure our citizens that we will not change the established practice, or if we do, then it means further simplifying customs regulations and measures and reducing the waiting time on both sides of the border. These measures include a reduction in administration, the opening of new border crossing stations, the

development of the network of roads, and many other things. Our experts are now examining the tasks of the Hungarian side to further ease bilateral tourism. Another new development is that many small investment programs have emerged along with large-scale investment projects. Individually, the volume of these small investments is not large, but their effect is perhaps more lasting than, say, the hotel building program. The outlines of diverse and multilateral economic cooperation projects are emerging in the wake of the new law on business associations adopted by Parliament. This promises to be a more reliable basis than economic cooperation based solely on large-scale actions.

[Kanyo] This is really promising for the future, but has the current visit led to results in easing our current problems, like, easing the protective measures directed against the Hungarian agricultural products and food?

[Grosz] Every such visit leads to concrete results. The financial talks held by Sandor Demjan, president of the Hungarian Credit Bank Ltd, were extremely important. Trade Minister Tamas Beck also reached agreements in important areas with his counterpart, Austrian Economic Minister Robert Graf. Every major issue has been discussed, including the issue you have just mentioned. We have noticed a readiness for help on the Austrian side, and we hope that we will be able to overcome the obstacles through joint efforts.

As we have attributed great importance to the prospects of our cooperation during our talks held with the Austrian chancellor, I would like to describe the issues discussed. The modernization of our railroad network and the development of a lasting connecting link between the Western and Eastern European network of railroads would be the first stage in a large-scale joint venture. It seems that the railroad is living its renaissance in Western Europe, and the transportation of goods will increase in both directions; therefore, it must also become faster. Hungary and Austria could play a great role in this, but this requires the creation of a uniform concept. Experts have been charged with working out such a concept.

Also important is the issue of the planned joint national park to be established around Lake Ferto, a project that would promote international tourism. Our countries' environmental protection ministers have already visited the site. Plans will be worked out by taking into consideration environmental protection requirements, and these plans will be implemented by a joint economic venture.

[Kanyo] You have met with representatives of Hungarians living in Austria at the Hungarian Embassy in Vienna, and they represented all the exciting range of political colors. What was the result of this meeting?

[Grosz] Those present at the meeting left Hungary at various ages and because of different reasons. There were people among them who have never stepped into our embassy in Vienna and have not visited Hungary since they left. The ice has now been broken. Even those people who have reservations about our social system are now following the changes taking place in Hungary with interest, and their reservations are seemingly diminishing. I think there are also illusions. This transpired from the remarks made by Karoly Pallavicini originating from a marquis family, and by others who demanded a reevaluation of the 1956 events, the changing of sentences in connection with those events, and the rehabilitation of those sentenced. I think these demands do not consider the realities. However, there were constructive elements even in those remarks. The meeting has shown that these people are following the changes under way in Hungary, have an opinion about these changes, and also show readiness for cooperation.

It is the obligation of our government to help those people who want to maintain contacts with their relatives here and settle their relations with their native land. We must create the conditions for this. During the discussion, I felt that walls of several decades were crumbling down. We must close the past, and advance in the future. We would like to settle everything that can be remedied from the mistakes of the past, but we must close, with mutual understanding, everything that cannot be remedied. We do not deny the past, and we will further develop and defend its values.

[Kanyo] The two premiers are at the same time heads of their respective parties. Have interparty relations been discussed during your talks with Mr Vranitzky?

[Grosz] Yes. We both agreed that the parties are the workshops of policy, and the fact that there is no formal written agreement in this respect cannot be an obstacle hindering our cooperation. There are good human relations between the leaders of the two parties. An example of this is the warm appreciation manifested at the meeting of the Austrian-Hungarian Association for MSZMP Central Committee Secretary Matyas Szuros' talks in Vienna and for other meetings. I, for example, have recently received in my study at the party headquarters Ernst Fischer, chairman of the parliamentary faction of the Socialist Party of Austria.

Another matter is our relations with the Austrian Communist Party whose Chairman Franz Muhri I also met during my visit. Our talks lasted 1 and ½ hours, and were of high level and spirit. We agreed on every issue we discussed.

[Kanyo] You are soon stepping down from your position as premier. As far as we know, you have still two trips to make until then, to Madrid and Paris. Is there anything else that the public does not know?

[Grosz] If there was such a trip, I would have already told the public about it. Many things have contributed to the fact that things turned out as they did. I think I have already said somewhere that I would ask my release as premier from the Parliament in November....

[Kanyo] Why has this date been advanced to November?

[Grosz] The situation within the party compelled me to carry out this change as soon as possible. The burdens are too great, both physically and mentally. I have already received invitations to France and Spain, and I accepted them, and the timing was also accepted by us. Many things urged us not to delay these visits. I hope that the 5 days I will spend in these two countries will contribute to the further development of our bilateral cooperation.

[Kanyo] Thank you for the interview.

Grosz Interviewed on Party Openness

LD1211115388 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 0545 GMT 12 Nov 88

[Interview with Karoly Grosz, general secretary of the MSZMP Central Committee and chairman of the Council of Ministers, by reporter Pal Varga at the Pest County Party Committee on 11 November—recorded]

[Text] [Announcer] Pest County Party Committee has elected Csaba Hamori its new first secretary. Karoly Grosz, general secretary of the MSZMP Central Committee, participated in the Pest County Party Committee session yesterday. During an interval in the meeting Pal Varga asked him about one of the topics on the agenda—the openness of party work.

[Begin Recording] [Varga] Is there a limit, and if so where is it, in publicizing institutional debates, party work, exchanges of views, and resolutions?

[Grosz] Well, disregarding a few very difficult matters which are really the internal affairs of the Party, apart from these there is no limit, in my view. There are no secrets in the life of a political party which the public should not be allowed to learn.

[Varga] But, for long years—decades—there has always been a kind of mystique surrounding party work.

[Grosz] That is true. Indeed, it is a fact. I must say, though, that even then nothing so wonderful happened that people should not have been allowed to know about, neither small nor big things. Somehow, this style became the norm; it was not a conscious decision. Perhaps it was a habit left over from the period of illegality, the past, which has recently come under very strong criticism. I think that a qualitative change has taken place in the movement since the party conference—I am not now talking merely about the Central Committee, because it is easier to effect changes there—but I have seen in very many places, including even the grass root organizations, that the members of elected institutions recognized that if they want to strengthen the party's influence over the masses they need to carry out politics more openly—and so-called openness [nyilvanossag] is one of the forms of this. [Varga] Here at this party committee session, one of the points on the agenda is the election of the new first secretary, a post for which the Politburo has proposed Csaba Hamori, [member of the MSZMP Central Committee Politburo and first secretary of the KISZ], while Lajos Krasznai, currently the first secretary, because of an impending important other appointment—many people know what this important appointment is, by the way, but it cannot be said officially, I do not know whether it is now allowed or is still not ....

[Grosz interrupts] Well, of course. Yesterday the Council of Ministers appointed—until yesterday one was not allowed to say because until the decision had been made this could have been considered disinformation—Comrade Krasznai as deputy minister of defense. As for his military rank, we are not making a statement because that is a matter for the Presidential Council and not the Council of Ministers.

[Varga] Well, in that context, this change of personnel or the nomination debate is taking place in a closed session. Only members of the Pest County Party Committee can participate. I do not understand the reason for this because even the first secretaries of the town party committees are excluded, or mostly excluded, from the session. They cannot take part despite the fact that there will be no particular secret here either.

[Grosz] Naturally they do not participate in the voting because they are not members of the elected body...

[Varga interrupts] But they do not participate in the debates either.

[Grosz] No, because in the preliminary period of the preparation nomination cannot be prepared more openly than this. Also, the Nomination Committee speaks to all the members of the party committee. This enables every party member in the county to express his opinion—they spoke to many people who are not members of the body; they carried out consultations; Comrade Hamori, who is proposed by the Politburo for the post of first secretary, took part in several group discussions where he made himself familiar to members; he met with communist communities outside the local group and, after all, the PEST MEGYEI HIRLAP published this preliminary proposal of the Politburo. In other words, no one can say that it has been kept a secret.

[Varga] Nor is it a secret, but what I do not understand still is the reason which makes the closed session necessary now.

[Grosz] Because every organization—and the Communist Party of the MSZMP is an organization—when it makes a decision, the members of the body are responsible, are personally responsible for their decision and, yet, this voting is a matter for a closed session. In other words, it is not against openness and publicity. If we were to do what you have asked, work would lose its boundaries and would become impossible to handle.

[Varga] So, we can say that such a decision regarding issues of personnel will continue to be made at closed sessions...

[Grosz interrupts] Naturally, because it is the members of the body which vote. This is the reason why they are members of the body—it is their function, among other things. The confidence with which they were assigned to this body obligates them to decide responsibly because it is not possible always to elect on the icy surface of the Danube—the time for that has passed. In other words, it is in perfect harmony with openness and publicity. [end recording]

Prime Ministerial Candidates Discussed

LD1011171588 Budapest MTI in English 1501 GMT 10 Nov 88

[Text] Budapest, November 10 (MTI)—In the Thursday session of the group of Budapest MPS, Gabor Borbely, editor-in-chief of "NEPSZABADSAG", outlined the position of the HSWP Political committee concerning the post of prime minister. Most of the people who have been consulted so far proposed Pal Ivanyi, president of Budapest City Council, Miklos Nemeth, secretary of the HSWP CC, and Imre Pozsgay, minister of state. All three are members of the HSWP Political Committee. One MP proposed Rezso Nyers, another PC member, for the post.

As reported earlier, Karoly Grosz, HSWP general secretary and prime minister, announced that he would resign as PM at the next parliamentary session convened for November 24.

Mr Borbely announced that the HSWP Political Committee will put forward a single candidate at the November 22 session of the Central Committee.

Justice Minister on Multiparty System

LD1111104988 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 0545 GMT 11 Nov 88

[Excerpt] [Announcer] The draft law on association also makes possible the founding of political parties. This was decided yesterday by the Council of Ministers, summing up the experiences so far of the social debate.

Justice Minister Kalman Kulcsar has briefed journalists on this significantly modified draft law. We now quote a part of this.

[Begin Kulscar recording] On the basis of the right of association, private persons, legal persons, and their organizations without legal personality, can, according to the aim of their activity and the intention of their founders, form and operate a political party, trade union, mass movement, interest representation organization, society, or other organization, hereinafter also social organization, not conflicting with the decrees of this law.

This is the wording the government has accepted, and wishes to submit before the parliament. The novelty is twofold; the reference to trade unions, as well as the reference to a political party.

The founding of a political party is possible on the basis of this draft law.

However, alongside the recognition in principle, there is another circumstance to which I must also draw attention. This is written and formulated in the fourth section, second paragraph of the draft law. According to this, the role played by the political party in the social system will be indicated by the stipulations of the constitution regarding its formation, registration, and ceasing, by the stipulations of a separate law. Two things follow from this in principle. One is that the Constitution must determine the place and function of the political party in the social system. The term political party appears in the singular, but because the citizens have the possibility to found a political party, obviously it is not a question of one party.

With this, the National Assembly recognizes the possibility of a multiparty system in Hungary.

The coming into effect of the law means at the same time that a political party cannot yet concretely be founded, because the creation of another law is needed which in some cases—it is listed here precisely according to sections in which cases—will contain separate decrees relating to a political party.

You may naturally ask the question—and obviously everyone will ask—why this duality in the law? Well, this is a political standpoint. The political leadership has already said several times that guiding through this whole process without there being political destabilization, requires a certain amount of time. This time—this is only my personal view—coincides with the working out of the new Constittion. Ultimately it is not the justice minister, but the political organs who will say when there will be the possibility for actually founding political parties. Naturally we will start working out the law pertaining to a political party. This will be available when it is needed. [passage omitted] [end recording]

Nyers Interviewed on Multiparty System

LD1111122188 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 0600 GMT 11 Nov 88

[Text] Many people regarded the announcement yesterday by Justice Minister Kalman Kulscar on the possibility of the evolution of a multiparty system as historic. In

the following conversaton, Rezso Nyers [MSZMP Central Committee Politburo member] speaks about the chances for a multiparty system evolving. The reporter is Zsuzsa Szikra.

[Szikra] Rezso Nyers, you are a National Assembly representative. How do you as a politician, a National Assembly representative, evaluate the possibility that there will be the opportunity once again to found a political party in Hungary?

[Nyers] I evaluate this possibility in principle as the way for the natural political system of socialist society to evolve. At the same time, my assessment of the matter is that today, Hungarian society is truly in the preparatory phase for this, because the founding and untroubled functioning of political parties have political conditions such as interest clarification and the shaping of a program, a clear program, so that such a system can operate without hitches and advance the affairs of the country. We are in the preparatory phase for this.

In political debates questions of division and social policy are still in the forefront, almost naturally, as a consequence of the earlier rigidity. Both are very important. However, there is still a rather significant lack of clarification in the question of production policy; foreign policy is not quite as unclear—I think that Hungarian society is almost ready for the programming of foreign policy. With regard to external economic policy, there too, clarification is at a rather advanced stage. With regard to production policy, I think that society is in an almost embryonic state for the functioning of a political multiparty system. So, I think that we still have to catch up in this.

[Szikra] Would you consider the realization of this to be premature? I ask this because we know that there are already new political organizations [corrects herself], new organizations which although they declare that they do not wish to operate as a party, the possibility is there already in their formation.

[Nyers] Well, I do not consider the declaration of the possibility to be at all premature. I would however consider it premature if society were to jump in headfirst without such clarification of programs. Above all, parties to be formed must clarify their relations to the functioning party, the MSZMP. This is not such a simple matter, and this has not happened up to now either. The party, too, must clarify its relations to other parties that may be formed. So, the importance of these must not be underestimated.

[Szikra] Although it is not very advisable to make political predictions, could you say a time when in your opinion the multiparty system could actually come into being in Hungary?

[Nyers] Well, we are in a period of developments or movements, when the future is unpredictable from this point of view. In my opinion, it is not a matter of the distant future, nor of the coming days. One or two bands of time will in my opinion give the framework of realization.

[Szikra] Do you also consider the announcement to be historic?

[Nyers] I consider it to be, alongside other important historical questions, to be one of the historically significant questions.

Association Bill Goes to Assembly

LD1011194588 Budapest MTI in English 1858 GMT 10 Nov 88

[Text] Budapest, November 10 (MTI)—At its session on Thursday, the Council of Ministers approved the report of Karoly Grosz on his official visit to the Islamic Republic of Iran.

The government discussed and approved the bills on the Rights of Assembly and Association, and decided to submit them to the National Assembly.

The Council of Ministers passed a resolution on extending the possibilities of military service without arms.

The government heard a report on the State Office for Technical Development (OMFB), and the construction of the new national theatre, and the related tasks.

At its session today, the government approved the report of Prime Minister Karoly Grosz on his official visit to the Islamic Republic of Iran. The prime minister stated that his talks in Tehran are expected to contribute to improving relations of the two countries, and to enlivening economic cooperation, and will also further strengthen reciprocally advantageous relations—said government Spokesman Gyorgy Marosan, at the briefing for journalists held following the session. The government discussed, in the presentation of Minister of Justice Kalman Kulcslar, both the bills on the Right of Assembly, and the Right of Association, and decided to submit them to the December session of the National Assembly. The two bills, said Minister Kulcsar at the briefing, were submitted to government following social debate to which some 50,000 people contributed. Both bills were considerably amended. The minister stated that the bill clearly stipulates that both the right of a assembly and association are fundamental inalienable human rights. A

preliminary reporting obligation will be set down for the right of assembly, Mr Kulcsar said, which is needed to maintain order. The planned assembly will have to be reported at least three days prior to the event, and police authorities may only ban such assemblies if there is intention to commit a crime, or violation of the rights and freedom of others. An appeal can be lodged against the ban at court, which has to pass a decision within three days.

The Bill on the Right of Association sets down that private persons and legal entities may set up political parties, trade unions, interest representations, and other social organizations. Mr Kulcsar called attention to the fact that the decrees of a further law, which is to be worked out, will have to be taken into consideration in the setting up a political party. This law will determine the place and role of political parties, which will be included in the new constitution expected to be worked out by 1990. If approved by parliament the law will imply the recognition of the multi-party system, the minister of justice noted. However, the Bill on the Right of Association reflects the current political situation.

In answer to a question, the minister said that the right of association also refers to foreign citizens, as it is not a civic, but a fundamental human right, which should also be exercised by foreign citizens living in Hungary.

The Council of Ministers passed a resolution on extending the possibilities of unarmed military service. The government spokesman said that young men who request will work for 36 months. The work will mainly be manual and designated by the state office for wages and labour.

The spokesman was also asked whether the government had taken a position on the recent murders of police officers. The spokesman stressed that the courts will naturally have to pass verdict, however, in connection with the cases, the government called attention to the strengthening of public security. Each year, there are about 500 attacks against policemen in Hungary, 80 per cent of the attackers are drunk and attack in armed groups.

In conclusion, answering a question about the disturbances on November 7, the government spokesman said that 1 persons were taken to police headquarters, but no violence was used, and the young persons who protested—in an undesired way—against the observance of the holiday were soon released. One person taken to police headquarters, Tamas Kiss, lay down on the ground in front of the headquarters building, and said to his wife and other persons present, that he had been beaten. An ambulance was called, but the protestor ran away before its arrival. The government spokesman added that the persons taken to police headquarters did not announce their assembly intention in advance, and the way they expressed their protest against the celebration of November 7 is contrary to our social order. In conclusion the government spokesman said it is possible that commemorations of November 7 in the future will differ from the customs to date, but the festive nature of the day cannot be brought into doubt.

New Social Organization Formed

LD1311221688 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 2100 GMT 13 Nov 88

[Text] A social organization called the Alliance of Free Democrats [szabad demokratak szovetsege] has been founded in Budapest. Originally they called themselves the Network of Free Initiatives [szabad kezdemenyezesek halozata]; it was at their general assembly held on Sunday that they decided to adopt the new name. Their declaration states that the organization considers itself to be the successor to the reform era, European and Hungarian liberalism, social democracy, bourgeois radicalism, and the Hungarian populist movement. The Alliance of Free Democrats wishes to act in the interests of the rights of freedom and the self-determination of communities by organizing political debates and the working out of attitudes.

More Reaction to Bush Presidential Victory

Rakowski Congratulation Cable

AU1411144888 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 10 Nov 88 p 8

[Cable of congratulations from Premier Mieczyslaw F. Rakowski to U.S. President-elect George Bush on his presidential victory]

[Text] His Excellency George H. Bush, President-elect of the United States of America, Washington.

Your Excellency. I wish to convey my sincere congratulations on your election as President of the United States of America.

On behalf of the Polish Government, I wish you every success in this post, as well as success in implementing planned domestic undertakings and fulfilling all the intentions that serve the interests of world peace and detente.

I am convinced that the good relations between our states, based on historic traditions and warm feelings between our societies, will develop in accordance with mutual interests.

Respectfully,
Mieczyslaw F. Rakowski, chairman of the PPR Council of Ministers

Commentary on Election Victory

LD1011114488 Warsaw PAP in English 1005 GMT 10 Nov 88

[By PAP Correspondent Jerzy Gorski]

[Text] Washington, Nov. 10—George Bush, the Republican Party's presidential candidate, won a significant majority of votes in Tuesday's presidential election and in January 1989 will become the new, 41st President of the United States.

George Bush assured the voters that his administration would continue the hitherto policy of peace and economic growth. The slogan "Peace and prosperity" was the motto of the Republican Party's election campaign.

Bush's victory is, therefore, an expression of the American public opinion's conviction that the domestic and foreign policies of President Ronald Reagan's government, which gained the support of American society, would be continued.

George Bush's assurance that his government would be open to wide dialogue in East-West relations, that it assigns great importance to the policy of disarmament negotiations with the Soviet Union, that it would conduct a realistic policy with respect to the USSR and the socialist countries which would take into consideration not only the United States' strategic interests but also the historic changes taking place in the USSR and socialist states, played a significant part in his victory.

The election results can also be regarded as an expression of American society's conviction that George Bush, the hitherto vice-president, is a more exprienced politician in international affairs and will better protect the United States' interests in the quickly changing contemporary world.

George Bush's election campaign was strongly supported by President Ronald Reagan who put his whole authority and popularity behind Bush. Reagan said that voting for Bush was a referendum on the continuation of the hitherto policy and conservative philosophy of the Republican Party. In the history of the United States there has never probably been an acting President who so totally involved himself in the struggle for the maintenance of continuity of Republican rule.

Nationwide Demonstrations, Disturbances Reported

Gdansk Groups, Others March

LD1211013088 Warsaw PAP in English 0121 GMT 12 Nov 88

[Text] Warsaw, Nov. 11—Demonstrations and attempts at disturbing public order made in several Polish cities by irresponsible groups of youth were a dissonance in the patriotic atmosphere of celebrations of the 70th anniversary of Poland regaining independence. Anti-state slogans were shouted, and vandalic acts occurred.

After a mass at the Marian Basilica in the coastal city of Gdansk a crowd of young people some of whom did not attend the mass tried to disturb peace, raised abusive shouts. They tore out flagstones, set litter boxes on fire, hurled stones at policemen.

Meanwhile, in Kracow, southern Poland, demonstrators tried to march from the Wawel Hill to the Soviet Consulate but they dispersed, following calls from law enforcement forces.

The so-called fighting Solidarity attempted at organizing a rally in Swidnicka St. in the south-western city of Wroclaw. Next demonstrators went to a tram depot at Grabiszynska St. The attempts at disturbing peace, though repeated several times, ended in failure.

In another development, after a mass at St. Johns Cathedral in Warsaw groups of demonstrators went to Victory Sq. Noisy and aggressive hordes of young people were dispersed in the park adjoining the square.

Water Cannons Used in Gdansk

LD1211144388 Hamburg DPA in German 1246 GMT 12 Nov 88

[Text] Warsaw (DPA)—Tens of thousands of people demonstrated in a number of Polish cities on Friday evening for more freedom and full independence for the country, marking the 70th anniversary of Poland's independence. Clashes with the police took place in at least four towns. Fifty people still remained in an annex of the Katowice Cathedral on Saturday morning. They intend to stay there and start a hunger strike until all those who had been arrested are released. They also demanded that policemen who beat demonstrators be punished.

The most serious clashes took place in Gdansk. After a mass in an overflowing St Mary's Church, at which Bishop Tadeusz Goclowski reported about his meeting with Pope John Paul II, around 5,000 people tried to move on to the memorial for the victims of the unrest in 1970. They were stopped by special police units who used water cannons and illuminated the church with very bright spotlights. Demonstrators threw stones. At least ten demonstrators were arrested.

Participants reported from Gdansk that a section of the demonstrators streamed back into the church, where many of the congregation still remained. The situation only calmed down when Bishop Goclowski received assurances in a telephone conversation with the security authorities that the people could leave the church unhindered. Priests accompanied two groups of young people out of the church.

250 Take Refuge in Katowice Church

AU1211144188 Paris AFP in English 0152 GMT 12 Nov 88

[Text] Warsaw, Nov 12 (AFP)—Some 250 protesters who fled a brutal police baton charge at a demonstration in the southern city of Katowice on Friday have taken sanctuary in the city's cathedral, witnesses said.

The demonstrators, who took part in an unofficial march commemorating the 70th anniversary of Polish independence, said they would not leave until some 50 people arrested at the protest had been released.

They also wanted guarantees for their safety.

Some of them had started a hunger strike at midnight, the protesters said in a statement signed by several dissidents including Kazimierz Switon, a local opposition leader close to the banned trade union Solidarity.

Three women clubbed by police during the protest had been taken to hospital, the sources said.

A heavy police contingent was standing by outside the cathedral, the sources said.

83 Demonstrators Remain in Church

LD1211180088 Hamburg DPA in German 1618 GMT 12 Nov 88

[Text] Warsaw (DPA)—In Katowice, the police are still surrounding the cathedral. There are 83 people in the cathedral who—through a hunger strike—want to bring about the release of all demonstrators arrested on Friday. As Adam Slomka, the group spokesman, said on the telephone from the Katowice church, the hunger strikers also demand a written guarantee of safety if they leave the cathedral.

He spoke of a particularly brutal police action that took place Friday evening. After mass, a procession of some 2,000 persons left the church. When this was attacked by police, people streamed back into the cathedral. After long negotiations between militia officers and three of the demonstrators' representatives, they were able to go undisturbed into the city; they proceeded without banners; they did not shout slogans but just sang.

The police also attacked this procession and brutally attacked several people. Two young girls had been taken to the church unconscious. Several received outpatient hospital treatment. People fled back into the cathedral, where some 250 persons spent the night. Most of them left the church on Saturday, along with people who had attended early mass.

Hunger Strikers Increase Demands

AU1311211988 Paris AFP in English 2039 GMT 13 Nov 88

[Excerpt] Warsaw, Nov 13 (AFP)—Eighty-five Poles on hunger strike in a cathedral in southern Poland have increased their demands during the day, a spokesman for the group said Sunday.

Adam Slomka, a leader of the outlawed Confederation for an Independent Poland (KPN) told AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE in a telephone interview that the hunger-strikers had demanded that the government reinstate 120 mine workers who were sacked following strikes in the country in August.

In addition, the group has demanded that more than 30 young miners who were called to do military service as a "punishment" for taking part in the strikes, be exempted, Mr. Slomka said.

Under Polish law, mine workers are exempt from doing military service.

The Poles first sought refuge in the cathedral on Friday to escape police baton charges during demonstrations in the southern Polish town of Katowice.

Mr. Slomka said that the group was "firmly committed" to continuing their hunger strike and added that they had formed a committee to negotiate with authorities.

The group, which includes Kazimierz Switon, a founder of Poland's free trade unions, remained holed up in the cathedral surrounded by police. [passage omitted]

Clergy Offers To Mediate

AU1411120488 Paris AFP in English 1200 GMT 14 Nov 88

[Text] Warsaw, Nov 14 (AFP)—The Catholic Church has offered to mediate with the authorities on behalf of 45 hunger-strikers holed up since Friday in Katowice Cathedral, a spokesman for the fasters said Monday.

Adam Slomka, a leader of the Confederation for an Independent Poland (KPN), said the number of hunger-strikers had declined from 85 on the first night but the rest were in good spirits and buoyed by messages of support from all over Poland.

He said those with jobs had been asked to turn up for work on Monday to avoid being sacked while the women had been advised to give up "on health grounds".

The hunger-strikers sought refuge in the cathedral when riot police broke up a demonstration by several thousand people here on Friday marking the 70th anniversary of Poland's independence. They are demanding the rehiring of 120 coal miners sacked after strikes in August.

Minister Approves Mill Departments Closures

LD1211020488 Warsaw PAP in English 2359 GMT 11 Nov 88

[Text] Warsaw, Nov. 11—Several departments of three steelmills located in the Katowice Voivodship will be closed under approval of the Minister of Industry.

Acting on Katowice voivodes motion on the closure, in the years 1989-91, of industrial installations especially dangerous to natural environment, Poland's industry minister approved the closure of the iron blast furnances and open- heart plants together with backup facilities at the "Kosciuszko" mill in Chorzow and at the "Bobrek" mill in Bytom and gas generators at the "Batory" mill in Chorzow.

Decisions on closing other plants and departments listed by the voivode are due to be taken shortly.

The closing down of the departments of the three mills is bound to cut production of some raw materials and in some cases will lead to the need of imports. However, the decision meets half-way postulates of the population and comes as an expression of government environmental protection policy.

Rakowski on Shipyard Closures, Liquidations

LD1311204588 Warsaw PAP in English 1743 GMT 13 Nov 88

[Text] Warsaw, Nov. 13—During his second Saturday meeting with televiewers on November 12th, Prime Minister Mieczyslaw Rakowski spoke about the most important decisions made by the government over the last two weeks. Among them was the decision to shut down the Lenin Shipyard in Gdansk.

'With the aim of ensuring that employee rights are not violated during the liquidation of the shipyard, and that the future does not seem uncertain for the working people, I decided to send my plenipotentiary to Gdansk who will supervise matters connected with the employment of the employees of the shipyard under liquidation,' Rakowski said.

The second decision concerned price hikes for agricultural produce. The farmers' response was positive, though, possibly they expected a higher increase—which is only natural. 'However, the government did not see the possibility to introduce a greater increase of procurement prices, Rakowski said.

Yet another decision concerns the liquidation of 8 hard coal associations.

"One hears that the saying: 'He lost the substance for the shadow' can be applied here. This is not so. For there is a specific situation in Silesia, among other things, a geological one. Thus, enterprises which will direct life in the coalmines are needed. This is why in place of the associations five multi-branch enterprises have been created.

"Finally, the last decision—particularly important from the point of view of the natural environment—concerns the liquidation of the 'Siechnice' foundry. It was received with satisfaction by Wroclaw inhabitants. However, the process of the foundry's liquidation will last two years and this prompted certain negative commentaries. Therefore, I wish to explain that the 'Siechnice' foundry, as the only on in Poland, produces ferroalloys which are needed by the economy. This production will have to be reduced gradually, like employment, but also we must successively increase purchases of ferroalloys abroad and for hard-currency at that.

'The government has concentrated on economic matters, drafts of two very important laws: on entrepreneurship and the undertaking of economic activity and on foreign capital joint stock companies, scheduled to be filed with the Sejm (parliament) shortly.

'The changes, which are being made in the economy and which are very necessary, form a strong basis for political reforms. They are and will be realized in Poland for they are not so much a demand of the moment but of the epoch in which we are living or, if you will, the present

stage of socialism's development,' Rakowski said. 'Changes in the economy are also necessary for the 'round table': for the successful end of the dialogue to take place at the table. For in my opinion the 'round table' will take place,' the prime minister added.

'However, it is the government's duty to create facts. For they are what counts most. Society expects them. Public opinion polls, which we carry out systematically, by listening to the voices expressed by society, show that the concentration on economic issues is well received.

'I am also thinking about the next year, which is already knocking at the door,' Rakowski said. 'It should also be a year of the energetic righting of matters which today are upside down. We should also be guided by the motto that in Poland it does not have to be worse but that it can be better. Among the many questions which we ask with 1989 in mind, the most important one is: In what degree can we brave moving in the direction of normality. For example: can we contemplate the elimination of meat and petrol rationing cards.

'Another question is how to most justly divide what the Polish worker produces. For the means are scarce. Another matter: how to deal with bribery which is destroying the moral tissue.

'Many such questions can be asked. I do not have a ready answer to all of them. However, it must be found.'

'I receive a considerable number of letters containing words of support for the government and myself personally. I am very grateful for them,' the prime minister said.

Scientists Protest Gdansk Shipyard Closure

AU1411131288 Paris AFP in English 1307 GMT 14 Nov 88

[Text] Warsaw, Nov 14 (AFP)—Thirty members of the Polish Academy of Sciences have "firmly" protested the government's plan to close down the 11,000-worker Lenin shipyard in the Baltic city of Gdansk.

In a declaration obtained Monday and dated November 8, the signatories called the decision to close the shipyard "arbitrary" and suggested it would lead to a "catastrophe."

The shipyard is the birthplace and stronghold of the banned Solidarity trade union whose president is Nobel peace prize winner Lech Walesa.

The protest is only one of many since the government announced its decision to close the shipyard for economic reasons. Prime Minister Mieczyslaw Rakowski recently said the decision was "irrevocable" and the shipyard would be closed gradually over two years.

Walesa: Government Hardening Its Attitude

LD1011175188 Hamburg DPA in German 1657 GMT 10 Nov 88

[Excerpts] Warsaw (DPA)—Lech Walesa, chairman of the banned trade union Solidarity expressed regret on Thursday that the attitude of the Polish Government toward the planned "roundtable" talks is hardening. He is "dismayed" and "concerned" about the government's attitude, Walesa said at a new conference in Gdansk. Solidarity wants an understanding, "but we are not going to the table on our knees." The Solidarity trade union had supposedly been invited, but "we are not being treated like independent partners, but as if we are being granted a favor." [passage omitted]

With reference to the situation in the shipyard, Walesa said that now is not the time for strikes to fight the closure. This should take place if there is no progress by April or May. He expressed understanding for the impatience of the young people who had gone on strike in the ship repair yard on Wednesday. If their problems are not solved soon "then they will blow up both myself and the government." The management of the ship repair yard has denied reports by Polish Television concerning alleged dismissals of strike leaders.

Kiszczak Assures Walesa on Roundtable Talks

AU1211150488 Paris AFP in English 1156 GMT 12 Nov 88

[Text] Warsaw, Nov 12 (AFP)—Polish Interior Minister General Czeslaw Kiszczak, has assured Lech Walesa that he is still ready to take part in "unconditional" talks with the Polish opposition, sources close the leader of Solidarity said Saturday.

Gen. Kiszczak sent Mr. Walesa a message on Friday in reply to a letter which Mr. Walesa had sent to him on November 5, the sources said.

The minister said he was still ready to talk "with no prior conditions" and "on a constitutional and legal basis". But he suggested no date.

Contacts between government and opposition were suspended recently as the two sides accused each other of deliberately delaying the "round-table" talks first scheduled for September 17.

Mr. Walesa has said Solidarity will "not negotiate on its knees" and has called for the rehiring of 120 miners sacked for going on strike last August.

The government meanwhile, has rejected at least two members of the Solidarity delegation calling them "extremists".

Government Reconciled to Opposition's Existence

LD1111214088 Warsaw PAP in English 1815 GMT 11 Nov 88

[Text] Warsaw, Nov. 11—In an article on the opposition in Poland the party daily TRYBUNA LUDU today said that the authorities would not permit anyone to cross the critical point of systemic principles and legal order. It wrote in part: "An objective observer of the Polish political scene must see that the authorities seem to have more easily reconciled with the existence of the opposition than the extreme opposition groups with the fact that the authorities have not broken down. It seems that the authorities are more realistic. This realism demands that one should see objective internal differences within the opposition and strive for their manifestation in, for instance, institutionalized forms, something the law on associations is to serve.

"There is, however, some critical point which, when unnoticed or ignored, rules out the possibility of any agreement with the authorities. It (this point) is determined by the systemic principles and the binding legal order.

"The authorities will not permit anyone to cross the critical point. And this indicates a practical conclusion for all those orientations and groupings which, while preserving their identity and oppositional criticism, want some forms of agreement with the authorities.

"This conclusion boils down to the necessity of freeing oneself from the manipulatory influence of political extremists," the daily wrote.

Rakowski Views Solidarity Interest in Talks

LD1311215388 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1910 GMT 13 Nov 88

[Text] Warsaw, Nov 13 (TANJUG)—The Polish Government has concentrated on economic problems, aware that it will thus create conditions for political accord, Prime Minister Mieczyslaw Rakowski said today.

In his second TV address to the nation since being elected prime minister in October Rakowski said that round table talks with the opposition will take place after all.

However, the banned trade union Solidarity, and the Catholic Church as mediator, do not appear too interested in such talks.

In less than a month the government has taken first radical steps to normalise economic life. The only thing to cause a storm was Rakowski's decree on the liquidation of Poland's largest shipyard, Lenin of Gdansk. Other measures such a rise in the purchase price of agricultrual produce and the liquidation of the iron works in Wrozlaw, the biggest threat to the environment, have met with approval.

70th Independence Anniversary Festivities Continue

TV Reports Reagan Greetings

LD1111223688 Warsaw Television Service in Polish 1830 GMT 11 Nov 88

[Text] We have just received this agency telegram from the United States:

Chairman of the Council of State of the Polish People's Republic, Mr Wojciech Jaruzelski.

Dear Mr Chairman,
Please accept my warm congratulations to mark the 70th anniversary of Poland's regaining of independence on 11 November, 1918. The United States for a long time supported the cause of Poland's independence and I recall with pride the Fourteen Points of President Woodrow Wilson proclaimed on 8 January, 1918, which contained an appeal for a free, totally independent Polish state. The American people and I personally continue to wish the Polish nation success in its efforts aimed at ensuring and maintaining the benefits of freedom and prosperity.

Sincerely,
[Signed] Ronald Reagan.

Jaruzelski Attends Ceremony

LD1111125288 Warsaw PAP in English 1222 GMT 11 Nov 88

[Text] Warsaw, Nov. 11—The superior of the Polish Armed Forces Gen. Wojciech Jaruzelski attended the gala review of the guard of honour at the tomb of the unknown soldier staged here Friday to mark the 70th anniversary of Poland's independence.

Present were representatives of the highest party and state authorities, participants in the struggles for independence and 2nd World War veterans.

The ceremony was preceded by a military parade through the streets of Warsaw of representatives of all military regions and kinds of armed forces.

Leaders Attend Events

LD1211032388 Warsaw PAP in English 2202 GMT 11 Nov 88

[Excerpts] Warsaw, Nov. 11—Today, on the 70th anniversary of Poland's independence, ceremonies were held all over Poland to pay homage to five generations of Poles whose work, ideals and struggle led to the return of this country onto the map of the European continent. Central observances took place here. [passage omitted]

Gala Change of Guards

A gala change of guards was held at the Unknown Soldiers tomb in Victory Square. Soldiers of the Polish People's Army dressed in historical uniforms, including uniforms of soldiers of Gen. Jozef Haller's army formed in France, the Polish Eastern Corps, and the Polish Legion, all fighting in the First World War, stood guard of honour at the tomb.

The ceremony of laying wreaths was held after superior of the Polish Armed forces Gen. Wojciech Jaruzelski who chairs the nationwide committee for anniversary observances, arrived on the scene, the national anthem was played and a 24-gun salute was fired to mark the anniversary.

Gen. Jaruzelski, Mieczyslaw F. Rakowski, Roman Malinowski, Tadeusz W. Mlynczak and Jan Dobraczynski laid a wreath with a scarf bearing an inscription: "From the nation to Polish soldiers to marke the 70th anniversary of regaining independence." [passage omitted]

Gala Concert at the Warsaw Wielki Theatre

"Always Poland" is the name of a gala concert held at Warsaw's Wielki Theatre to mark the anniversary. It was preceded by a meeting of the nation-wide honorary committee for observing the anniversary, Chaired by Wojciech Jaruzelski.

Jaruzelski talked for a longer time to secretary of Poland's Episcopate Archbishop Bronislaw Dabrowski, voicing his thanks for arriving at the ceremony and accepting the invitation to sit on the committee. "We value this very highly." president of the Council of State said.

Also, prime Minister Mieczyslaw F. Rakowski talked to members of the committee.

The following personalities arrived at the concert: Wojciech Jaruzelski, Mieczyslaw F. Rakowski, Roman Malinowski, Tadeusz W. Mlynczak, Jan Dobraczynski, representatives of organizations of lay Catholics and Christians, social and professional organizations, generals members of the honorary committee for observing the anniversary, and members of the Consultative Council at the president of the Council of State.

Heads and members of diplomatic missions were at the regal box.

Performed by artists of Warsaw theatres, the concert featured patriotic songs and poems from the period of struggle for independence. [passage omitted]

9-10 Nov Sejm Session Held on Economics

LD1011225788 Warsaw PAP in English 2318 GMT 10 Nov 88

[Text] Warsaw, Nov. 10—The Sejm devoted today's meeting to, first of all, legislative work. The agenda included the first reading of two draft laws and the adoption of two other bills, earlier examined by Sejm committees.

The first reading covered the government drafts on the PKP state enterprise (the Polish state railways) and on fiscal charges. As concerns the latter, Finance Minister Andrzej Wroblewski said that expected was the introduction of the principle of equal treatment of all participants in economic turnover. The proposal has been forwarded in this respect to considerably increase a maximal ceiling of fiscal charges.

Both drafts have been sent to Sejm committees for further analyses.

One of the bills adopted by the Sejm abrogates the decree from 1952 on distribution of trade turnover and supply articles. This was regarded as necessary in the period when market-oriented activities were initiated and when a uniform system of economic turnover was being introduced in all fields.

The other adopted bill concerned the Central Annual Plan and the term of presentation of the draft budget for 1989. The binding date of Nov. 15 was postponed to Dec. 10. The thing is that the goals and priorities of the new government require transformation of earlier worked out documents and thereby at least a minimal time span.

Next the Sejm heard the government replies to deputies' interpellations and questions.

Issue of National Day on Nov. 11

Finally, in connection with the motion of Deputy Ryszard Bender, forwarded on Wednesday, to restore a national day on Nov. 11, Acting Minister of Labour and Social Policy Jerzy Szreter took the floor.

"The prime minister has authorized me to inform deputies that at its nearest session the Council of Ministers will take a stand on this proposal. The premier, not anticipating the decision of the Council of Ministers, is willing, however, to recall that making one working day a holiday means that in the conditions characteristic of last year the national economy would lose the national income worth 56 billion zlotys, that is over two thousand zlotys per every Polish citizen," Szreter stated.

"It is also worth keeping in mind that at present we have 38 non-working Saturdays and 8 holidays, including two national days, annually. In the 80's the working time has

shrunk, and at the same time many services rendering and production enterprises do not achieve full production capacities because of underemployment."

"All in all, examining the proposal of Deputy Bender, aimed at dignified celebrating of the date of Nov. 11, significant in the life of the nation, the Council of Ministers will have to consider all, including economic, consequences of such a decision," Szreter concluded.

Problems of Power Industry

In reply to the question whether the government is going to verify the program of development of the power industry in Poland and assume abandonment of the construction of nuclear power plants in favour of the better use of other sources of energy and efficient reduction of industrial energy-consumption, Industry Minister Mieczyslaw Wilczek recalled that this country placed 19th in Europe as concerns production of energy per one citizen.

The nuclear power program was born as a necessity when it turned out that conventional sources of energy were not sufficient. It is estimated that, owing to rationalization, Poland will be able to decrease the use of the so-called theoretical standard fuel by some 70 million tonnes. Especially, restructurization of the economy and more effective methods of energy conserving will be serving this aim.

Also supported will be the development of the power industry based on the so-called renewable sources of energy. Their participation is estimated to reach 1-2.5 percent of general consumption.

Energetic balance of this country will not be struck in the years 2000-2020. Thus, nuclear power plants will be indispensable, this being an economic necessity and sine qua non of the country's development. The more so as we expect the process of limited extraction of hard coal to start.

Ecological Situation on Polish-Czechoslovak Border

Several questions referred to the ecological situation near the Polish-Czechoslovak border. Among other problems, in the direct vicinity of the borderline in Stonava the construction is underway of one of the biggest coking plants in CEMA countries, to be finished in 1992. The threat it poses for densely populated areas on the Polish side of the border is obvious and generates concern of public opinion.

In reply Minister of Environmental Protection and Natural Resources Jozef Koziol said that the plenipotentiary of the Polish Government had turned to its Czechoslovak counterpart to explain the issue of the construction of the coking plant in Stonava. The problem was also discussed during negotiations between both plenipotentiaries last June.

According to the Czechoslovak side the coking plant in Stonava will replace two old similar plants in Karvina and Ostrava, situated in the same area. The operation of both plants will be discontinued.

The Czechoslovak side is of the opinion that the most modern technological achievements securing the maximal air-tight sealing of technological processes and applied while constructing the Stonava plant will make it possible to decrease the emission of pollutants by 55-60 percent per one tonne of coke. Thus, the result of this should be a visible decrease in pollution emitted by coking plants in the Ostrava area.

The troubles made by the existing and constructed Czechoslovak enterprises will be again presented by the Polish side at a meeting between working teams, to be held still this month.

PZPR Intelligentsia Representatives Meet 4 Nov

Examine 'Stalinist Past'

LD0511110288 Warsw PAP in English 0205 GMT 5 Nov 88

[Text] Warsaw, Nov. 4—A meeting of the representatives of the PUWP intelligentsia, meant for exchange of views on the ways and means of enlivening the party's political thought, was held in the PUWP Central Committee here today.

The meeting, which was attended by representatives of scientific, artistic, cultural, technocratic, and journalistic circles, was chaired by PUWP CC Secretary and Political Bureau Member Marian Orzechowski.

The deep reform of the economic and political system in Poland requires that also society accepts the proposed rules, Orzechowski said. In the meantime, extremist opposition centres are promoting a showdown formula of pluralism. The difficulties in bringing the round-table talks to a start are one of the consequences of those tendencies. And so the success of the party policy will depend on the consistency in the implementation of this policy, on an adequate flexibility in action, but also on persistance as concerns fundamental matters.

Director of the public opinion polling centre, Stanislaw Kwiatkowski, formulated a few theses depicting the basic dangers in the relationship between the authorities and society.

The current political situation in Poland is not so much determined by the political rules as by the state of public moods, Kwiatkowski said. It should be also admitted that the reform has not won a necessary social base. Conversely, from the very beginning the reformist actions have been encircled by adverse emotions and misunderstandings. Results of opinion polling indicate this, he said.

Many participants in the discussion pointed to the necessity of honest accounting for the so-called Stalinist past. They also pointed to the urgent necessity of boosting efforts aimed at formulating new theoretic syntheses which would enable to develop socialism in a creative way so that it could comply with the demands of a modern civilisation of the turn of the 20th Century.

Orzechowski Addresses Intelligentsia

AU1011060188 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 7 Nov 88 p 3

[Unattributed headline: "Intelligentsia and Socialism—Speech by Marian Orzechowski, PZPR Politburo Member and Central Committee Secretary"]

[Text] As we have already reported, a session of representatives of the party intelligentsia from all over Poland was held in Warsaw [4 November]. We publish below extensive excerpts from the speech made at the session by Professor Marian Orzechowski, PZPR Politburo member and Central Committee secretary.

Poland, socialism, and the party need a penetrating and honest evaluation of whatever constitutes our joint achievements. However, what we need most urgently is creative and effective militancy that is able to change the present time and to blaze the trail to a better future.

The party intelligentsia has a special duty to fulfill in thinking and in activities, and that is precisely why the party leadership has decided to present to you—representatives of the large mass of the party intelligentsia—the necessary evaluation of the situation in the state and the party, to talk with you about the intentions, goals, and lines of our activities, and to listen to your views on this subject.

What is the basic purpose of our meeting? We want to exchange views on ways and means of triggering new impulses for intellectual militancy in the party so that the party's ideas and concepts can determine the tenor of the discussions and disputes about the future of Poland and socialism and about ways of creating a new image of this future.

At the ninth extraordinary party congress in July 1981 we initiated the historic process of searching for a new shape of socialism—of giving it a new theoretical definition and of thoroughly renewing it in practice. Today those aims are no longer something that can be called purely Polish, because the movement to renew and transform socialism has now spread throughout the socialist system.

Our task is to develop a system of the state and society that is able to ensure a very considerable rationality and effectiveness of the economy, the respect for man's dignity and for human rights, and the harmony between economic efficiency and comprehensive humanism—social justice, equal career chances for all, and social security. We have in mind socialism that is rooted in the Polish historical traditions and that combines its political nature with with our national traditions and the peculiarities of our sociopolitical and cultural development. These peculiarities include the fact that Catholicism and the Catholic Church are part and parcel of our life and that this church and the socialist state coexist, cooperate, and conduct a dialogue. We want socialism that is developed with our own efforts and at our own risk under international conditions that have never been so propitious for our sovereignty and independence as true masters of our own house.

We have now entered a stage which will certainly be of decisive significance for the fate of socialism in Poland.

The party is facing the need to radicalize reforms in a way that "shocks" and opens prospects for new and effective institutionalized political, social, and economic solutions.

We know the main roadsigns of the reform for the next few months, even though these roadsigns still have to be made more accurate.

Most briefly, in the economic area we must attain effectiveness, initiative, enterprise, an economy that really consists of many sectors, scientific-technological progress, dynamic production, and the gradual creation of a market balance.

In political life we must institutionalize democracy and pluralism, which means that we have to legalize constructive opposition within our system. This represents a new aspect of national accord, a new model of the PZPR's leadership, and changes in the forms and methods of the PZPR's serving, leading, and guiding role. The modernization and pluralization of our political system amount not only to responding to the interests and aspirations of a differentiated society, but also to creating new elements of the mechanism of government, to greatly expanding the social base of government, to rationalizing the decisionmaking processes, to most extensively socializing government, and to ensuring the effectiveness of social control over government.

We know that it will be difficult to carry out that program of action. The profound reform of our political system also requires society's agreement to the proposed rules of the game. However, the extreme centers of the opposition continue to promote the confrontational formula of pluralism, and one result of this is the difficulty in getting the roundtable going.

That is why the success of party policy will depend on the consistency with which that policy is implemented, on the necessary flexibility in action, on determination with regard to basic issues, on strengthening the cohesion and identity of the party and its ability to cope with the

requirements of the times, and, primarily, on the extent of social trust, which nowadays can be won only by solving acute socioeconomic problems.

The creative forces represented by the intelligentsia must play a special role in creating a new shape of socialism.

As we have stated time and again, it goes without saying that, without the creative and general participation of the intelligentsia in reforming the economy, society, and the state and in developing a new image of socialism, it is impossible to successfully complete this process, in which the intelligentsia is an autonomous and active agent.

The Polish intelligentsia's participation in the historic process of developing socialism is many-sided.

First, it is impossible to overcome Poland's underdevelopment in civilization and, primarily, in technology, and to reduce the gap between Poland and the highly developed countries without progress in production, science, technology, organization, management, national education, national culture, rationalizing measures, effectiveness, innovation—that is, without all those values that are created and promoted primarily by the intelligentsia.

Second, it is impossible for Poland to become a fully normal country again and to solve its present and long-term difficulties without permanent national accord, however it may change in substance and form, and without the national consensus of the forces that are socially and politically active and that want to share responsibility for the fate of the fatherland. The role of the intelligentsia in that process is quite obvious.

Third, national accord in Poland is impossible without efforts to promote good political standards of dialogue and understanding as well as tolerance of differing views. National accord is impossible without the intelligentsia, although nowadays neither tolerance nor cultured dialogue are the strongest points of the intelligentsia's philosophy. I fully share the view expressed not so long ago by Professor Jan Szczepanski that the "great conflict of the eighties has made its lasting imprint on the creators of humanistic values and has made them less sensitive to humanistic ideals such as tolerance and understanding vis-a-vis the values represented by an adversary."

Fourth, scientific, technological, economic, social, and cultural progress is out of the question without making it possible for the intelligentsia to give vent to its own criticism of every form of reality and to transform this criticism into incentives for constructive activities.

Discussions are continuing all over Poland. Various ideological and political centers and factions are trying to make an impact on the form of the present changes and continue to submit their own concepts for solving economic and political problems. In this struggle for the ideological substance and constitutional form of our reforms, we party members do not always realize that the party's function of leadership is impossible without intellectual leadership, one in which the courage and radicalism of reforming ideas go hand in hand with the defense of the basic values of socialism.

The party's intellectual leadership must not be a task reserved for red-letter days only. Nor must it be a task for selected circles of people. This fact continues to be confirmed by the course of party discussions and by the nature of expectations connected with the Third All-Poland Theoretical-Ideological Conference. These extremely extensive expectations are proof that intellectuals possess an enormous credit of trust in the party and that it will be extremely difficult to repay this credit.

Party aktivs believe that the conference will provide clear and comprehensible replies to a series of problems besetting the party. These are some of them:

First, an interpretation of the changes in ownership and management, especially the role of private enterprise in a socialist economy; against this background, the ways and means of implementing the following principles of socialism is a subject of special concern: social justice, equal chances, social security, and the satisfaction of primary social needs.

Second, the progressing pluralism of sociopolitical life, the leading role of the party, and the place of the opposition and opposing trends in socialism;

Third, the ideological and political-organizational condition of the party itself and its ability to generate new ideas and concepts, win social support, create a broad, prosocialist stream of the leftwing, and alter its internal structure and mechanisms of action.

The questions concerning the party are fundamental. They involve the very essence of systemic socialism, its identity and ability to create values.

The party as a whole is experiencing a period of theoretical and ideological reevaluation. However, the doubts and indecision accompanying this should not immobilize the party and make it cede territory to the political and ideological adversary, but should encourage an intellectual offensive in our favor.

One must meet concern and indecision halfway by establishing a minimum ideological order that defines the basic values of socialism and the ways of implementing them, improving the party's program-forming function, creating a new philosophy of party action, seeking effective ways of publicizing party programmatic objectives, giving suitable replies to the ideological questions and dilemmas accompanying the ideological reforms, and polemicizing with anticommunist and anti-Marxist views that exceed the limits of socialism and the Polish raison d'etat.

This list of intellectual objectives of party activity also defines the scope of the party intelligentsia's duties and their place within the party. The party intellgentsia may not and should not play the role of a party conscience. It is not their role to pass judgment from a lofty position on the work of the party and its leadership. As an equal and energetic component of the party community, their role is to create and propagate party programmatic thought, shape civil and political culture, encourage dialogue and discussion, and serve as a model for social and civic attitudes.

Poland, socialism, and the party need a conscious objective. They need an offensive and broad movement consisting of an intellectual Marxist left wing. Left wing, because the point is to preserve, perpetuate, and publicize in national life the traditions and contemporary values of socialism, humanitarianism, rationalism, and tolerance. Marxist, because Marxism continues to be the fundamental determinant of the party's identity and the theoretical foundation of the socialism created by us, a Marxism interpreted not as a stiff collection of principles about the real world, but as a dialectical and materialistic method of perceiving, understanding, and successfully transforming social reality.

Despite popular belief, Marxism is firmly rooted in modern Polish culture and its intellectual traditions. The minds of most people of culture are geared to its values. Nevertheless, Marxism is still not modern enough. It is open to outside interference. It is not militant enough, and finds it difficult to extricate itself from the tangle of dogmatism and rigidity. The effects of the faulty relationship between theory and practice still have not been removed, a relationship that proved to be faulty when theoretical-social thought began to be treated as sacred laws and dogmas. Yet the greatness of theoretical thought depends on its ability to inspire social practice and renew it all the time, in accordance with an established ideal. Historical experience warns us to dispense with erroneous beliefs about the possibility of scientifically constructing an ideal model of social development, fit to be adopted without criticism. Such beliefs always used to end in social drama. Therefore, it is essential to see to it that no monopoly of thinking by an individual or group of individuals recurs, and that no single thought or set of interests imposes itself on practical life.

The primary task of the intellectual movement in the party and the primary task of the party in society is to renew Marxism on Polish soil. We perceive this as a multifaceted and multidirectional process.

First, a renewal of Marxism involves a "return to the source," a return to Marx and Lenin; to the heritage of world Marxism; to the traditions of Marxist and socialist thought in Poland on the subject of problems of Poland's fate; to the authentic thinking of the Polish Workers Party and Polish Socialist Party before 1948 and their ideals and values; to humanitariansim and socialism, at the center of which lies the welfare of man, democratism, rule of law, self-management, and cooperation.

Second, a renewal of Marxism in Poland means ridding it of all the Stalinist outgrowths that firmly embedded themselves in our theoretical and practical consciousness, our view of the modern world, the system of national and party education, and the spiritual life of the nation.

Third, a renewal of Marxism means adapting it to the Polish situation "here and now," and providing it with a socialist mechanism that defines its inner "movements," logic, and laws.

Marxism that suits the needs of an emergent socialist mechanism cannot be decreed from above.

The birth and development of Marxism in a socialist era must take place under a variety of political thinking and a multitude of schools of thought on the subject of the renewal and reform of socialism, even if some of this thinking is hostile to socialism. Of the many schools and paths of thought, Marxism has a great and unrepeatable chance of becoming a serious partner in discussion, the source of a new way of thinking, and a forum at which to compare experiences and undertake dialogue and cooperation. In Poland, Marxism could serve as an intellectual laboratory for the creation of universal humanitarianism and human morality. Dialogue is the requirement and sign of the times, not theoretical-ideological confrontation. No one has to lose his identity and credibility in this process. We do fear a clash of ideas, nor even the sharpest dialogue, because we know our own interests and arguments.

Marxism cannot develop without discussion and a clash of various views. Therefore, a climate conducive to such discussion must be created within the party itself, and it must be made possible to compare various orientations and schools of thought in Marxism. Only then will Marxism become a creative element of the party's identity.

In this work, a major role lies in store for party journals, especially NOWE DROGI, MYSL MARKSISTOWSKA, and IDEOLOGIA I POLITYKA. Articles by members of Marxist circles in theoretical and theoretical-political journals should encourage other learned Marxists to present their views about key theoretical problems and reach joint conclusions, especially about difficult issues of today.

Another important task of party journals is to gather and promote young Marxists, facilitate their start in academic life, and award outstanding work. Here, a special role falls upon our party alma mater, the Academy of Social Sciences.

The social sciences have an important role to play in the renewal of Marxism in Poland. The ideological concept according to which the social sciences have a purely

functional character—something that stems from a very limited notion of political pragmatism—has become obsolete. A positive feature of the social sciences' development over the last few years is the resolute way in which instances of excessive schematization and dogmatism, which reduce the social sciences' methodological vitality and cognitive efficiency, are being eliminated. The empirical verifiability of theoretical conclusions is gradually becoming the main criterion in determining the usefulness of the social sciences. That is a general thesis. However, what emerges against this background is a clear need to make social science research more efficient and increase its "applicability value."

We have high expectations of party members operating in the artistic community, party members involved in culture, and party intellectuals. The new form of socialism that is coming into being in Poland is creating new opportunities for cultural policy and the artistic community.

We are convinced that people working in the arts field who are connected with the party will not shirk from engaging in the intellectual debate on the program for the development of culture until the year 2000.

Poland's current problems, and particularly problems pertaining to Polish culture, cannot be reduced to talks about funding and formal, organizational, and legal matters, although such issues are also important. The recent seminar organized by the nationwide party team of writers attached to the PZPR Central Committee Culture Department represented a successful attempt at holding a serious discussion on writers' ideological and aesthetic values, and choices in People's Poland. It emerged that it is possible to remain faithful to the values of the Polish left, to deal with one's own past and that of one's colleagues frankly, and that it is possible to tackle the remnants of Stalinism in a new way, not only by writing, but also by engaging in substantive ideological and political polemics with the opponents of socialism.

Today, artistic associations and unions should increasingly become a sphere of activity for party intellectuals. It is in our interest that these associations and unions should become increasingly stronger and increasingly representative, so that more and more people, who have remained on the sidelines until now, become involved in constructive work for these organizations and their own community. Party members who belong to artistic associations and unions should also have the task of invigorating intellectual life in these organizations. Let us not forget that they have an ideological and artistic character, and not just a social and vocational one.

Our artistic communities have recently been set an important challenge. The challenge is the holding of a Congress of Polish Culture next year—an idea that was put forward by the National Council for Culture. Such a congress would be the most suitable forum for an open exchange of views on the fundamental categories and values that should govern the spiritual life of Poland and the Poles.

However, the sole purpose of this undertaking should not be to demonstrate that Polish cultural life has a pluralist character, that there are diverse opinions, points of view, and interests or to submit another catalogue of group complaints, claims, and accusations. The success of the congress will depend on whether it is possible to agree on a program that would group together a large section of the Polish world of culture. An optimal program should contain a concept for satisfying many of society's valid and justified expectations in a way that takes account of the changes that are taking place in the sociopolitical and economic life of the country. However, it is also necessary to achieve a special kind of "social contract" among people connected with culture concerning the order of precedence for tasks and goals.

A few words about journalism—it is one of the yardsticks of party intellectual activity. Its definite assets should include support for economic and political reforms, and for the idea of national accord. However, I do not think that the efforts being made by our journalists to oppose attacks on revolutionary, radical, and internationalist traditions and the lasting achievements of People's Poland can be deemed completely satisfactory.

There are three problem areas are in which support for our arguments is particularly necessary. This is because the opinions and demands that are being propagated in them are increasing the ideological confusion, and this is often being done from a standpoint of complete opposition to our system. This applies to trade union pluralism, political pluralism, and the so-called "depoliticizing of the economy."

We have to resolutely oppose the view that trade union pluralism is some kind of magical cure for all our ills—one that is free from side-effects and would not reduce the scale of the reforms and endanger their security, or have a negative effect on unity in the labor world. We have to adopt a more profound and bold approach to dealing with problems of political pluralism from socialist positions without tending toward the mechanical imitation of bourgeois models and without excessive enthusiasm for them.

The problem of "depoliticizing the economy" also has to be intelligently addressed. We support the much wider application of economic laws. This ideological and practical concept of "de-politicizing" the economy requires unambiguous support. However, our response has to be clear-cut, when what lies behind this slogan is the desire to apply pure market forms without consideration for social objectives and when it is a matter of removing the party from the workplace. Party writing should, above all, inspire, encourage, and support the party and those of its forces that form the intellectual and political movement

for socialist renewal. It should seek out and reveal all those elements of activity that make broad communities and social groups identify with party policy.

I would now like to speak about publishing policy. It must undergo an important evolution in the current, changing sociopolitical situation. We have to respect consistently and fully our principle of censoring specific works and rejecting the censorship of specific authors. We have to rid ourselves of fears and misgivings that books with the "wrong" ideas are able to pose a threat to us. We are not really that weak. The party, the authorities, and their representatives can be the subject of criticism in literature, because they are so in real life. We have to put an end to stereotypes and monotony.

This also applies to writing about Marxism. Renewal and openness in cultural policy must mean a change in attitudes toward authors who do not accept our reality. Veracity and loyalty to the ideals of humanism and rationalism should apply in literature, and not just "respect for the Constitution."

Today, a uniform publishing policy for the entire country is becoming an anachronism. It is necessary, above all, to define the framework and limits of the national interest, which is, however, something that is realized in various ways. While taking account of actual pluralism in publishing and even enriching it, we have to learn to make fuller and more effective use of it, for the good of the highest interests of Polish culture.

All of us—the PZPR, the one Polish state, the people as a whole, every part of it and every generation—are faced with what is both a difficult test and a great opportunity. We finally have to believe in our abilities and in the wisdom of the workers class, our young people and the entire people, and to stop being afraid of ourselves. We have to get rid of feelings of impotence and mutual mistrust. We have to take advantage of the very real opportunity that now exists for bringing about a definite turning-point in overcoming the crisis and getting onto the right track. A 30-million-strong nation and 2-million-strong party is capable of much, significantly more than at present.

The next few years and months will determine what Poland will be like and what form Polish socialism will have at the turn of the century. Let us consider how things are to be done and then do everything possible so that we, as a people and a party, can welcome the 50th anniversary of the PPR with a feeling of justified pride and satisfaction, and with our heads held high.

Ceausescu Congratulates Bush on Election

AU1011191288 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1813 GMT 10 Nov 88

["Congratulatory Telegram"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES, 10/11/1988—Nicolae Ceausescu, president of the Socialist Republic of Romania, sent the elected president of the United States of America, George Bush, a congratulatory telegram which reads:

Your appointment to the high office of president of the United States of America gives me the pleasant opportunity to convey you sincere congratulations and best wishes of health, of full success in your entire activity.

I express my belief that, in the following years, we will be able to fruitfully cooperate for the development of the ties between the Socialist Republic of Romania and the United States of America both bilaterally and in the settlement of the international questions, of disarmament, detente and peace, in keeping with and on the basis of the joint Romanian-American documents, of the principles of full quality of rights, national sovereignty and independence, non-interference in internal affairs and mutual advantage.

I am convinced that the development of the relations between our countries will be in accord with the interests and aspirations of the two peoples, of the cause of collaboration, security and peace in the world.

Ceausescu To Visit GDR Second Decade of Nov

AU1111181988 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 1800 GMT 11 Nov 88

[Text] Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, RCP secretary general and president of the SR of Romania, will pay a working visit to the German Democratic Republic at the invitation of Comrade Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council, in the second decade of November 1988.

French Naval Vessel Visits Constanta Harbor

AU0911195288 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1907 GMT 9 Nov 88

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES, 9/11/1988—On November 9 the French military ship "Duperre" arrived on a visit in the Romanian port of Constanta. On the same day, the leader of the march accompanied by a group of French officers paid formal calls to the mayor of Constanta Municipality, to the Navy Command and the Naval Academy.

Wreaths of flowers were laid on behalf of the guests to the Victor Monument and to the Cemetery of the Romanian and French Heroes in the First World War.

Ceausescu Meets Cyprus' AKEL Party Leader

AU0911195988 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1909 GMT 9 Nov 88

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES, 9/11/1989—On Wednesday, 9 November, the RCP general secretary, president of Romania, Nicolae Ceausescu, met with Dhimitrios Khristofias, general secretary of the CC of the Progressive Party of the Working People—AKEL of Cyprus, who paid a visit to Romania at the invitation of the CC of the RCP.

The guest conveyed President Nicolae Ceausescu a warm salute on behalf of the president of the Republic of Cyprus, Yeoryios Vasiliou, as well as the choicest feelings of friendship and gratitude for Romania's president and for the Romanian people for the support granted to the Cypriot people. At the same time, he expressed his special satisfaction at visiting Romania, at having an exchange of opinions with the RCP and Romanian leader on questions of mutual interest.

Thanking, President Nicolae Ceausescu conveyed the president of th Republic of Cyprus a salute and best wishes of success in his entire activity.

During the talk reference was made to the good ties existing between the Romanian Communist Party and the Progressive Party of the Working People—AKEL of Cyprus, and the wish was expressed to further act for the development of these relations, in the interests of both countries and peoples, of the cause of peace and collaboration in Europe and worldwide.

During the exchange of opinions on current international issues, President Nicolae Ceausescu emphasized that now, when the international situation remains very grave and complex, all peoples, all democratic and progressive forces everywhere should join their efforts to achieve disarmament, nuclear disarmament first and foremost, to settle the stages of tension in various zones of the world only by peaceful, negotiated means, to thoroughly solve the underdevelopment-related questions and to build a new world economic order. At the same time, emphasis was placed on the importance of transforming the Balkans into a zone of peace, collaboration and good neighbourliness, free of nuclear and chemical weapons.

During the interview, the necessity was restated to strengthen the collaboration and solidarity among the communist and worker parties, on the basis of equality, of observing each party's right to set its political line by its own will, in keeping with the concrete conditions in each country, without any foreign interference.

Referring to the situation in Cyprus, President Nicolae Ceausescu restated the RCP and the Romanian state stand on the settlement of the Cypriot question, emphasizing the need that it should be solved by the Cypriots

themselves by political means, by negotiations, in order to ensure the integrity and independence of the Republic of Cyprus, to maintain its status of non-aligned country.

The reception was attended by Ion Stoian, alternate member of the Executive Political Committee, secretary of the CC of the RCP.

Present was also Agamemnon Stavru [spelling as received], member of the CC of the Progressive Party of the Working People—AKEL of Cyprus.

Transylvania History of Struggle Viewed
AU1011135788 Bucharest ROMANIA LIBERA in Romanian 7 Nov 88 pp 1, 2

[Ladislau Gyemant article: "The Struggle of Romanians From Transylvania Against the Denationalization Policy Promoted by Austro-Hungarian Dualism"]

[Excerpts] At the dawn of the 19th century—a century marked by the strong assertion of the struggle for self-determination waged by the oppressed peoples of the great multinational empires in Europe—the crisis of the old feudal-aristocratic regime in Transylvania entered its final stage, thus forboding its imminent collapse. The basic injustice of this system was the exclusion from the political life and societal leadership of the Romanian people, who represented the great majority of the principality's inhabitants and who were indispensable for the country's economic progress and overall prosperity, due to their overwhelming numbers and the economic and public tasks performed by them. This political paradox went hand in hand with an anachronistic socioeconomic system of large landlord ownership, based on the bondage work and quitrent of the dependent peasantry, which proved to be an unyielding obstacle to modernization and economic progress. [passage omitted].

Aware of the urgent need for economic, social, political, and cultural reforms, the Transylvanian nobility, which was largely Hungarian, made the application of such reforms subject to renunciation by the Romanian majority of the principle of their own national identity and the goals of their own emancipation, as a guarantee of further preserving the national and social preponderance of the Hungarian nobility in the new circumstances created by the implementation of the envisaged reforms. The main solution advocated in this respect was that the Romanians should adopt the Hungarian language and nationality, thus paving the road for a "single nation"—the ultimate goal of a denationalization policy designed to guarantee the perpetuation of the existing balance of power. Giving concrete shape to this political program, the main ideologue of the aristocratic reformist movement in Transylvania, Nicolae Wesselenyi, proposed a reevaluation of the relations between landowners and peasants provided that the latter adopt the Hungarian language and nationality. He suggested the removal of some of the most anachronistic privileges—such as the exemption of noblemen from paying taxes, the nobility's exclusive right to property, inequality before the law, and religious disparities—on the same precondition. The program also envisaged the introduction of an indispensable schooling system for raising the cultural level of the masses, but with Hungarian as the teaching language, and, last but not least, it advanced the goal of Transylvania's union with Hungary as the basic vehicle for implementing these changes in the foreseen framework of perpetuating the political preponderance of the Hungarian nobility. This program, which was widely distributed and circulated in the press and the political literature of the time and was discussed in the nobility-dominated political bodies of the principality, acquired a most clear formulation in 1842, when the Cluj Diet adopted a draft bill, whereby Hungarian should become, within a period of 10 years, the official and teaching language in Transylvania, including in the Romanian educational and church institutions.

Such a "solution" to the country's urgent problems obviously met with the firm opposition of the Romanian national movement, which—through its press bodies, through the positions adopted by its leaders, through the protests of educational and religious forums, and through the effective resistance actions of the masses in villages and towns—clearly emphasized the Romanians' unflinching attachment to the cause of their own identity and language. [passage omitted].

In 1867, the domestic and foreign weakness at the seat of power in Vienna, led to the conclusion of the dualist pact between the Austrian and Hungarian leading classes, at the expense of the interests of the other peoples in the monarchy. The inclusion of Transylvania in the part of the dualist monarchy which fell under the direct control of the government in Pest and the liquidation of Transylvania's autonomous status paved the road for a gradual implementation of the program of denationalization, based on the political formula of a "single nation" derived from the nobility's political program elaborated in the decades before 1848; an attempt to implement this program was also made during the 1848 revolution. The dualist legislation took concrete shape with the passing of the nationality law, which only recognized one political nation in Hungary; the electoral law, which excluded the overwhelming majority of the Romanian nation from the political life; successive laws on education, which aimed at eliminating schools in the mother tongues of other peoples; various discriminatory measures of an administration intent to serve the policy of denationalization; and a partial justice apparatus, that became an instrument in the fight against national movements. All this created the political framework in which the struggle of the Romanian people in Transylvania for the preservation and assertion of their national being and of their ideals for national and social emancipation came up against a systematic and stubborn policy of denationlization. [passage omitted]

The repressive measures and lack of understanding of the dualist authorities clearly showed that the only way to achieve the Romanian people's aspirations for

national and social emancipation was to complete the unity of their national state, through the union of all provinces inhabited by Romanians.

The organization of a national movement for the attainment of this goal, the realization of the unity of all Romanian political forces, and the strengthening of solidarity and cooperation beyond the statal borders of the time facilitated the establishment of the united national state within its natural borders—under favorable domestic and international conditions created by the collapse of the great multinational empires at the end of World War I—with the implementation of decisions adopted by the Grand National Assembly in Alba Iulia on 1 December 1918. That event of 70 years ago crowned a century-old struggle for social freedom and national survival and marked a historic point that also paved the road for Romania's full assertion along the road of modern development.

Dizdarevic Congratulates Bush on Election

LD1011113188 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0852 GMT 10 Nov 88

[Text] Belgrade, 10 Nov (TANJUG)—On behalf of the SFRY Presidency, Raif Dizdarevic, president of the SFRY Presidency, today sent a telegram of cordial congratulations and best wishes for success in his future work to the newly elected president of the United States, George Bush.

Reportage on Visit of USSR Defense Minister

Yazov Arrives 13 Nov

LD1311142288 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1341 GMT 13 Nov 88

[Text] Belgrade, 13 Nov (TANJUG)—Today Army General Dmitriy Yazov, USSR defense minister, arrived on an official friendly visit to our country and to our Armed Forces, at the head of a delegation from his country's armed forces. At Belgrade airport the high-ranking visitor from the friendly socialist country was greeted by his host, Colonel General Veljko Kadijevic, federal secretary for national defense

The welcome ceremony, during which the visitor was paid the highest military honors, was attended by Viktor Maltsev, USSR ambassador to Yugoslavia, and Colonel Aleksandr Teretyev, air and naval attache.

Soon after his arrival in Belgrade, Army Gen Yazov visited the Josip Broz Tito Memorial Center, where he paid respects to Yugoslav Marshal Josip Broz and laid flowers on his tomb.

During the day the USSR defense minister also visited the tomb of Soviet veterans on Mount Avala, the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier, and the cemetery of Belgrade's liberators, where he laid flowers on the graves.

Meets With Kadijevic

LD1311184088 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1633 GMT 13 Nov 88

[Text] Belgrade, 13 Nov (TANJUG)—Today Army General Dmitriy Yazov, Soviet defense minister, visited the Federal Secretariat for National Defense. He met there with his host, Colonel General Veljko Kadijevic. Among those attending were Col Gen Steva Mirkovic, chief of the General Staff of the Yugoslav People's Army; Vice Admiral Petar Simic, president of the Yugoslav People's Army LCY Committee Presidium; and Vice Admiral Stane Brovet, deputy federal secretary for national defense.

The talks passed in a cordial and friendly atmosphere and concerned current questions of interarmy cooperation between the USSR and Yugoslavia. It was stated that relations and cooperation between the Armed Forces of the SFRY and the USSR are developing successfully in accordance with good interstate relations, and that all conditions exist for their substantial and comprehensive advancement. In this regard the need and possibilities for founding cooperation on a long-term basis were discussed, particularly in the sector of the military-industrial complex. Mutual agreement was expressed that favorable conditions exist for this.

During his stay in our country, Gen Yazov will visit Armed Forces' units and institutions.

Iranian Foreign Minister Postpones Visit

LD1111171888 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1643 GMT 11 Nov 88

[Text] Belgrade, 11 Nov (TANJUG)—The visit by Iranian Foreign Minister 'Ali Akbar Velayati has been postponed at the request of the Iranian side.

The Federal Secretariat for Foreign Affairs has informed the TANJUG diplomatic editor that this evenings's postponement of Velayati's brief working visit, during which Velayati was due to meet with Budimir Loncar, federal secretary for foreign affairs, was caused by unforeseen commitments of the Iranian minister in Geneva and Tehran.

Velayati is heading an Iranian delegation to peace talks with Iraq in Geneva. No progress was achieved in the third round of talks which ended today concerning the resolution of key issues on the realization of a lasting peace.

Velayati's visit to Yugoslavia will take place on the next available occasion, the Federal Secretariat for Foreign Affairs announced.

Envoy Protests Incident at Thessaloniki Consulate

LD1011160188 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1427 GMT 10 Nov 88

[Text] Athens, 10 Nov (TANJUG)—SFRY Ambassador to Athens Vladimir Sultanovic has lodged an official protest with the Ministry of Foreign Affairs over an incident provoked by a group of Greek citizens in front of the Yugoslav Consulate in Thessaloniki.

After a basketball match between Crevena Zvezda and Paok on Tuesday [8 Nov] in the framework of the Radivoje Korac cup, a group of Greek citizens threw stones at the Yugoslav Consulate in Thessaloniki. Shutters were broken, the building's facade was damaged, and one stone sailed into the consul-general's apartment. Fortunately, no one was injured.

As is known, the match in Belgrade was abandoned because the Greek team's coach physically attacked one of the match referees. The hooligans gathered in front of our consulate building. However, they used this unsportsmanlike behavior of the Thessaloniki team coach to direct swear words and insults at Yugoslavia.

It is interesting that the Greek police did not intervene during the incident, although otherwise they guard our consulate in Thessaloniki.

A representative of the Greek Ministry of Foreign Affairs expressed regret for this incident and, in talks with the Yugoslav ambassador, promised that such a thing will not be repeated.

Further on Stanovnik Remarks During U.S. Visit

Belgrade SAWP Condemns Statements

AU1011144788 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 8 Nov 88 p 1

[Unattributed report: "Janez Stanovnik's Actions Condemned"]

[Text] At yesterday's session of the Belgrade SAWP City Conference, delegates strongly reacted to the unacceptable statements made to the public and officials of the United States by Janez Stanovnik, president of the Presidency of the SR of Slovenia. Support was expressed for the proposal of Aleksandar Bakocevic, president of the Belgrade Assembly, and Slobodan Unkovic, rector of Belgrade University, that the highest state and party leadership of Slovenia and Yugoslavia take a stand on Stanovnik's remarks.

Concluding the session, Dragan Tomic, president of the Belgrade SAWP City Conference, requested, on behalf of the conference delegates, that the SFRY Presidency be obliged to express their view, considering the fact that the American public has been informed that the situation in the country is different from the reality, especially concerning the possibility of the alleged civil war in Yugoslavia and Janez Stanovnik's role in preventing it.

"It can be justifiably expected that the LCY Central Committee Presidium will take a stand on Janez Stanovnik's statements, because Comrade Stanovnik in his statements devoted quite a lot of time to the 17th plenum of the LCY Central Committee and to a reassessment of its conclusions," concluded the members of the Belgrade SAWP City Conference.

Slovene SAWP on Media 'Attacks'

LD1111181788 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1629 GMT 11 Nov 88

[Text] Ljubljana, 11 Nov (TANJUG)—'POLITIKA EKSPRES' and 'POLITIKA' have published extremely tendentious and insulting attacks on Janez Stanovnik, president of the Slovene Presidency, it was stated at today's session of the Slovene SAWP Republican Conference Presidium. A separate statement adopted at the session noted that it was a matter of "reporting based on incomplete and unverified information, which insults the human dignity and personal integrity of Comrade Stanovnik."

"This is, as quoted in the statement, also an attempt to morally and politically disqualify the president of the Slovene Presidency, with all of the consequences of this. For this reason, these attacks are not only a crude violation of journalistic ethics and a serious violation of the existing legal norms, but they also contribute to the weakening of intranational and interrepublican relations."

"The Slovene SAWP Republican Conference Presidium seriously warns against all the consequences which such publications may produce. Also, it is not at all a question of taking away a person's right to criticism or disagreement with specific stands or statements. Nor is it a question of the a priori defense of individuals from public criticism. Above all, facts must be taken into consideration. It is unacceptable to manipulate the public and to spread a lack of trust and intolerance among our nations using misaligned quotations and half-truths. The Slovene SAWP Republican Conference Presidium resolutely condemns such phenomena, regardless of where they are manifested and what their sources are. It also resolutely condemns and rejects all attacks and insults directed at the president of the Slovene Presidency and demands that all those who initiated these attacks and insults bear responsibility." "In addition, the Slovene SAWP Republican Conference Presidium stressed that it was obviously not a case of mistaken editorial policies by these two 'POLITIKA' publishing houses, but the continuation of methods which are lately being applied against leading sociopolitical workers from Slovenia. The contents of Janez Stanovnik's statement will be assessed by the Slovene Presidency," the statement of the Slovene SAWP Republican Conference Presidium says.

Stanovnik 'Owes' Explanations

AU1011150188 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 8 Nov 88 p 1

[Dragan Belic commentary: "Stanovnik's Debt to the Public"]

[Text] The controversy about the (private, diplomatic?) trip of Janez Stanovnik, president of the Presidency of the SR of Slovenia, to the United States and his assessments of some aspects of the situation and events in the country, as reported by the U.S. press, are day by day becoming the center of attention of our public and media. Moreover, this controversy could become even more complex according to the proven rule that unresolved situations which for a long time remain without worthy and precise answers, themselves become the cause of intrigues and "punishment" in propaganda wars.

Was Stanovnik faithfully interpreted in the U.S. press and agency reports? We do not know really no that for sure at this point, and Stanovnik himself has not yet denied the assessments and stands which are the subject of commentaries in the Yugoslav public or disputed

what U.S. journalists published as his words. Were the interpretations of Stanovnik's assessments arbitrary, tendentious, or even inept in the newspaper reports? We do not know this either, but the assumption that it could have happened should not be rejected in advance considering similar recent experiences of other Yugoslav politicians with foreign newspapers and journalists....

To remind ourselves, if foreign reports are to be believed in this instance, Stanovnik said that inflation and Serbian nationalism had threatened "to end in civil war in the country," that the threat of ethnic unrest in Bosnia was a real one as this involved "an unstable community of Muslims and Christians," and that all this prompted him to join with the "leaders of Montenegro and other members of the Central Committee to say to the Serbs—please do not cross this line."

Precisely because of everything that was published, it seems to us that Stanovnik owes the domestic public denials—that is, if he has been mistakenly interpreted, wrongly quoted, or tendentiously represented. If this is not the case, then Stanovnik should explain his views on current Yugoslav reality to our public and justify them in more detail. This is not just a question of the principle that such matters should first be cleared up in one's own house, but above all of the principle that a senior official does not have the right to express his private opinions on matters which do not correspond to the facts and the truth (if, of course, it is established that Janez Stanovnik really said everything in the way that it was published). This is because this cannot, for example, be a matter of someone's and especially not an official's speculation as to whether or not Yugoslavia was on the brink of civil war, and as to whether or not Bosnia (what happened to Hercegovina?) is an unstable community of Muslims and Christians....

Janez Stanovnik owes such explanations to the domestic public for the sake of Yugoslavia, the sake of the truth, and his own sake. This is the smallest obligation of the state and citizens to the truth.

Further on Jansa, Borstner, Zavrl, Tasic Case

Borstner Allegations 'Vulgar Untruths'

AU0311205988 Belgrade NARODNA ARMIJA in Serbo-Croatian No 2572 27 Oct 88

[M. Susnjar report: "Vulgar Accusations"]

[Text] Attacks on the Army continue to be the "current" topic for some newspapers in the SR of Slovenia. MLADINA is still the most zealous in these attacks. Articles which present insults, fabrications, and all sorts of doubts about individuals in the organs of the Yugoslav People's Army [YPA] fill a considerable amount of space in this publication. Concerning itself with various themes and, mostly in recent days, the work of the military judiciary and the military security service, MLADINA has literally developed into its own kind of training ground for arrogant members of the alternative movement to practise spreading untruths and speculation. The impudent slandering of the Military Medical Academy [MMA] is one of the most recent examples of this. What is this all about, then?

The charged and convicted YPA ensign in the "Jansa case," Ivan Borstner, recently gave an interview to MLADINA's responsible editor Franc Zavrl in which, with the help of the interviewer, he put forward vulgar untruths about the attitude of MMA personnel toward him. As we have discovered from two convicts, the reason for this interview was some "lack of clarity about difficulties" which the now former ensign had during specialist examinations at the MMA. Explaining these "difficulties," Borstner claims that the doctors in Belgrade, compared to their colleagues in Ljubljana, did not behave like doctors but rather like investigators. He says that at the MMA he was given an unnecessary, specialized psychiatric examination, that he was harassed, and that he was then asked questions about totally different things other than his health. Borstner makes the accusation that the MMA doctors violated medical ethics and adds that he is convinced that the security service organs took part in his examinations and that the findings concerning his medical state were written up in advance, even before he arrived in Belgrade.

Borstner was taken to the MMA for a checkup for a disablement pension, and stayed there from 6 to 21 September. He was treated like any other patient, and the staff gave him their full attention. The personnel of this renowned institution did nothing that went beyond the usual medical treatment. Members of the MMA say that Borstner's accusations can only be interpreted as malicious insinuations. To put it simply, his claims are crude untruths, and they have some other motive.

Ivan Borstner's accusations are even more strange because they have been delayed and have come through MLADINA and some other newspapers. While he was at the MMA, he could have expressed dissatisfaction with his treatment at any time. However, he did not do this at all, not even during the consultations he attended immediately before his release. We have discovered that at that time he was directly asked whether he had any comments. He had none.

One can only wonder where these present accusations come from. We will not consider conscience, respect, and correctness. However, we are left with the belief that Borstner, Zavrl, and those who have given them space, have begun a dirty and dishonest intrigue with the obvious intention of enriching their repertoire of attacks on the YPA as an all-Yugoslav value by attacking the MMA.

The people in the MMA have a clear conscience, and the MMA enjoys a high international standing. As well as many earlier ones, it has recently received internationally important awards: Its chief surgeon was recently

awarded the Debakey award, which few people in the world can aspire to. Why does this bother MLADINA? How long will we permit someone to besmirch even that which is generally acclaimed in the world?

Slovene Officials Learn About Document

LD1211023388 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2150 GMT 11 Nov 88

[Text] Ljubljana, Nov 11 (TANJUG)—A group of delegates to the Assembly of the Yugoslav Republic of Slovenia was yesterday evening acquainted with the contents and nature of a highly classified military document on the basis of which three journalists and a sergeant-major were sentenced in Ljubljana last summer for leaking military secrets, it was announced today.

The document, an order issued by the commander of the Ljubljana Army District, was placed before the group of delegates to the Slovene Assembly entrusted with clarifying the circumstances surrounding the trial by member of the Presidency of Yugoslavia Stane Dolanc.

According to the statement released today, Dolanc stressed that, in the view of the Yugoslav Presidency, the document pertained to the regular activity of the Yugoslav People's Army (JNA) and analogous documents had also been issued to all the other Army districts in Yugoslavia.

The delegates concluded that the document did not pertain only to defence tasks, but also to measures of self-protection in the JNA relating to the security of military units and facilities.

The delegates will discuss in detail the constitutionality and legality of the document and inform the public about their findings. Initial assessments indicate that the document did not threaten the Slovene people and its sovereignty, the statement said.

At a trial in Ljubljana on July 27, Sergeant-Major Ivan Borstner was sentenced to four years in prison, journalists Franci Zavrl and Ivan Jansa to one and a half years and journalist David Tasic to ten months in prison for leaking military secrets.

The trial proved that Borstner had photo-copied the top-secret military document and given the copies to the journalists, who had already written against the JNA.

The trial of the four in Ljubljana provoked protests in the Slovene public, where it assumed the characteristics of a political trial and its legality was questioned. The military tribunal was sharply criticized for allegedly encroaching upon the sovereign rights of the Slovene people and statehood, as the trial in Ljubljana was conducted in the Serbo-Croatian language.

It has been assessed, however, that the use of Serbo-Croat at the military trial in Ljubljana was in conformity with the Constitution and the law, since the defendants were given official interpreters.

The leadership of the Slovene Socialist Alliance today upheld the proposal of the Slovene Youth Organization to postpone the carrying out of the sentences, until the special group of delegates to the Slovene assembly which is examining the circumstances surrounding the case should complete its work.

The sentences were confirmed by the Supreme Military Court in Belgrade last month and the four should report in prison on November 21.

Chamber Adopts Draft Constitutional Amendments

LD1011172388 Belgrade TANJUG in English 0927 GMT 10 Nov 88

["Amendments Set for Promulgation—by Gordana Sussa"—TANJUG headline; "pool item"]

[Text] Belgrade, Nov 10 (TANJUG)—After a debate of almost two years of which over six million people took part, the Federal Chamber of the Assembly of Yugoslavia adopted the draft amendments to the Yugoslav Constitution. Changes are proposed in 33 articles comprising over 200 proposed by the state Presidency, but also narrow than demanded in the course of the public debate.

Since changes to the Constitution can be carried out only with the agreement of the assemblies of all six republics and two autonomous provinces, the Constitutional Commission and the Federal Chamber, despite the fact that they take decisions by a majority vote, understandably restricted themselves to those amendments on which all the federal units agree. Prospects are, therefore, that the draft amendments will be promulgated on November 29, Republic Day, as scheduled.

Agreement was easily reached on the normative part of the Constitution which relates to the economy. Briefly, the essential changes concern the strengthening of the market economy and recognition of the pluralism of ownership. Instead of the basic organizations of associated labor within one firm, the enterprise as a whole is to become the main economic factor, with greater autonomy and responsibilities. Management functions will be separated from self-management ones and the workers' councils will have a decisive say in appointing and dismissing [words indistinct]. Consensus at the level of the complex organization of associated labor, which often blocked or slowed down the taking of major decisions, will be abolished.

Better conditions will be created for the investment of citizens' funds, foreign capital and the possibility opened up for the establishment of a financial market with

shareholding capital, securities, bonds, etc. There will be more freedom for private enterprise and the limit on ownership of apartments and business premises will be lifted. The maximum of arable land that can be privately owned will be increased from 10 to 30 hectares. Banks will be independent financial institutions operating on the profit principle.

Work on changes relating to the political system was more cautious. The aim was to remove in this round (the second starts next year) the hitherto institutional obstacles to systemic economic changes.

In future, elections will mainly be direct with multiple candidacies, and the right to strike will be guaranteed by the Constitution. The process of separating the party from the state has also been initiated. Henceforth, the president of the LCY Presidency will no longer be ex officio a member of the state Presidency. The Council of the Federation, made up of retired politicians, will be abolished by 1991. "Hej Sloveni" will formally be the Yugoslav national anthem.

There will be no changes in the way the collective head of state is elected. This means that each of the assemblies of the republics and provinces will elect their representative in the state Presidency and that their choice will only be approved by the Federal Assembly. However, the proposed changes will increase the state Presidency's responsibility to the Assembly since the Assembly will henceforth have the right to dismiss it, either as a body or each of its members separately.

Where the financing of the Armed Forces is concerned, the chamber adopted Slovenia's stand that, besides the federal budget, sales tax could be an additional source of funding, not income tax as first suggested. This means that the financing of the Army will be transferred from the already over-burdened economy to the whole population.

Only minor changes are envisaged in regard to the prerogatives of the federation. In the area of the judiciary, the proposal that the federal court be the court of the last instance was not accepted, but it will henceforth have the right to rule on property disputes between the federal units. The proposed changes contain a formulation that republican and provincial laws cannot go against federal laws. But it remains unclear which laws will be applied in the case of disputes and which court will hear them.

The scope of the proposed amendments will be confirmed by practice. This time, the changes relate more to the institutions of the economic and political system than to the rights and freedoms of citizens which will inevitably have to be dealt with in the next round of constitutional changes. Almost certainly, the agenda of the next round will include the demands set out in the public debate which were not adopted this time, such as the introduction of a chamber of associated labor and a chamber of citizens in the Federal Assembly, the abolition of the sociopolitical chambers in the republican and provincial assemblies, etc.

The Socialist Alliance Federal Conference is to determine by the end of this year who will make the formal motion for the second round of constitutional changes—the state Presidency as this time, the federal government, one of the assemblies, a delegation or a group of delegates.

FEC Endorses Draft Economic Policy Documents

LD1211133988 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1534 GMT 11 Nov 88

[Text] Belgrade, 11 Nov (TANJUG)—In keeping with the draft program of measures for the realization of the economic policy next year, the FEC today endorsed a number of draft documents for the realization of this policy. Among other things, the FEC endorsed draft decisions on the goals and tasks of the joint new money issue and monetary policy and joint principles of the credit policy in 1989.

The credit-monetary policy will have, according to the proposal, a restrictive character and will be directed at curbing inflation. The point of departure was a presupposition that conditions will be ensured for the effective application of the market laws. The FEC also took account of reviving production growth.

As emphasized in the communique from the session, the FEC also endorsed a draft decision on the projection of the balance of payments next year, as well as a program for tourist information and propaganda activity of Yugoslavia vis-a-vis foreign countries in 1989.

The FEC also endorsed a draft federal budget for next year, and a draft law on the total volume of expenditures contained in the budget and on a temporary restriction during next year on the disposal of part of social resources of sociopolitical communities and self-managing interest communities of the nonproductive branches of the economy. In contrast to the intervention law, which restricts spending in this field for this year, a proposal is now being forwarded for direct restrictions on incomes.

The FEC endorsed a draft law on the earnings of the federation used for the needs of the economy, as well as a draft decision on resources for boosting the country's technological development.

Mikulic Details Changes to Economic System

LD1211023688 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2020 GMT 11 Nov 88

[Text] Belgrade, Nov 11 (TANJUG)—A series of changes in Yugoslavia's economic system will be introduced on January 1 next year, but the reform will be

carried out in stages to allow the economy to adjust to market laws, a federal commission in charge of carrying out the reform concluded at its session here Friday.

All major laws necessary for implementing the reform will be adopted by the Federal Assembly by the end of the year, and the remaining ones in subsequent months.

The nine key laws will cover the fields of enterprises, auditing, financial operation, tax system, foreign investments, planning, banks, the Central Bank and the YUgoslav Bank for International Economic Cooperation, chairman of the commission Prime Minister Branko Mikulic said.

Participants in the ensuing debate said that there should be no departing from price liberalization, orientation towards an economic policy aimed at curbing inflation currently running at dizzying 236 pct [percent], revival of profitable production and exports, and disburdening of the economy.

They warned that "selective financial consolidation of the economy and banks, including the shutting down of non-profitable enterprises, will not be bypassed."

Milosevic Discusses 'Very Big Cadre Changes'

AU1111172988 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 11 Nov 88

[Text] Slobodan Milosevic, president of the Central Committee Presidium of the LC of Serbia, is visiting the South Morava region. During a visit to Vlasotince he was briefed on the 700-billion old dinars' worth of repairs to the damage caused by the recent catastrophic floods there. In Leskovac he met workers of the Nevena chemical plant and the Leteks textile mill and, as Milenko Stojanovic reports, apart from current economic topics, Milosevic also touched upon the difficult situation in Kosovo caused by the counterrevolutionary activity of Albanian nationalists and separatists.

[Begin Milosevic recording] A problem such as Kosovo must present a burden to every Yugoslav citizen. If every Yugoslav citizen, every honest man, were not burdened by the terror hanging over any citizen of this country, then this problem would be impossible to solve. We can resolve it on the basis of this very fact. However, the condition for solving this problem is to make very big cadre changes. All those people should step down from responsible posts who have estranged our peoples and nationalities and who still tolerate the counterrevolution in Kosovo and who through procrastination and hesitation allow the counterrevolution to develop and Albanian nationalists to continue to terrorize Serbian, Montenegrin, and other peoples in Kosovo.

However, comrades, you have seen that the stances of the 17th LCY Central Committee session are very resolute and clear in this respect. We are in fact implementing them now, and I hope implementing them very energetically. This implementation is what we insist upon and what we shall not give up.

I am convinced that it is on this very demand of our every citizen and worker that we must demonstrate whether we are capable of solving the crisis in a democratic way, successfully, and in conformity with the basic tenets upon which our country rests. And we shall do so. In this respect we shall make no compromise with anybody. You can rest assured that this is so. [end recording]

Belgrade Millworkers End Wage Strike

LD1011160588 Zagreb Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 10 Nov 88

[Text] By electing the representatives of the protest rally who will, together with the workers' council and with the city officials, meet workers' demands as soon as possible—their main demand is one for a pay raise—the strike by 500 workers from the Belgrade wool mill ended at about noon today. The agreement on an end to the strike was reached in the Grand Hall of the Trade Union Club in Belgrade following a proposal by Aleksandar Bakocevic, president of the Belgrade Assembly, who said that the workers did not demand something that they had not earned.

The workers from the wool mill stated their demand for a 100-percent pay raise early this morning outside the Yugoslav Assembly, where they also asked for talks with senior officials from the federation, the republic, and the city.

Document on Serbian LC Reform Tasks

AU1011173288 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 9 Nov 88 p 5

[V. Krsmanovic report: "Democratic Instead of Bureaucratic Centralism"]

[Text] The economic and social reform will be difficult to implement without unified and effective action by the LC. This is why it is also necessary to carry out a fundamental reform of the LC which will enable it to confirm itself as a true vanguard of the workers class capable of opening new roads and directing the development of self-managing socialism.

This was stated among other things in the proposed tasks of the Serbian LC in implementing the economic and social reform, a document which was recently formulated for the Serbian LC conference scheduled for 21-23 November.

Critical Analysis of the LC Organization

This document envisages that the conference propose to the Serbian LC Central Committee "to carry out a comprehensive critical ideological-theoretical analysis of the Serbian LC organization" which would be a condition for the realization of more profound changes in the LC organization. In this way, as was explained, the Serbian LC will contribute to the LCY's reforms. It is therefore necessary for the Serbian LC Central Committee to set up a special commission with the task of preparing a platform for the reform of the Serbian LC on the basis of theoretical knowledge and concrete experience gathered in the work to date and in accordance with the reform of the LCY and the basic principles of the LC program.

It was also proposed that the activities on strengthening the processes started with the eighth session of the Serbian LC Central Committee on the reaffirmation and strengthening of the vanguard role of the LC in society, the workers class, and among the people should continue. As was concluded, a favorable ideopolitical climate has been created. Its main characteristic is the increasingly broader involvement of the working people and citizens in solving burning issues. The justified appearance on the public scene by the workers class, working people, and citizens requires the further creation of prerequisites for the confirmation of their existence within the present and future institutional frameworks and forms.

A concrete and resolute ideological struggle of the Serbian LC is necessary in order to explain the reasons behind the implementation of the social and economic reform, new measures and solutions, as well as for increasing the awareness about the need to change attitudes in realizing tenets and tasks. The LC is also obliged to wage an ideological struggle against all forms of opportunism, the bureaucratic-statist methods of work, the decisions and activities of various alienated centers of power, and the dogmatic-bureaucratic views and behavior that hinder reforms. The LC must continuously oppose all kinds of nationalism and separatism, autonomism [autonomastvo], and all other forms of social divisions, and particularly strong tendencies toward the federalization of the LCY and the LC of Serbia.

What is also crucial for the success of the reform is the further strengthening of ideological and action unity in the LC of Serbia, especially in those orientations and actions which concern the entire relations and development of the republic and the LC of Serbia. The struggle for the unity of the LC of Serbia and the LCY on the basis of democratic centralism, interpreted and consistently applied in the way Tito intended, is the condition for the LC's transformation into a democratic vanguard capable of successfully fighting for the party's program.

This document particularly emphasizes that the unity and successful activity of the Serbian LC in executing the tasks of the reform are crucial for overcoming the untenable practice of some of its parts in not carrying out the tenets, decisions, and conclusions, especially of the Serbian LC Central Committee, from which a unified, thought-out, and synchronized action will be demanded.

Reaffirmation of Democratic Centralism

The principle of democratic centralism in the LCY and the Serbian LC is still being interpreted differently and implemented inconsistently. The consequence of this is the deepening of disunity and the federalization of relations in it, and particularly the weakening of its ideological and action power. Consistent respect for democratic centralism is the condition for a unified LC of Serbia within the unified LCY. This is why the need for the full affirmation and consistent application of this principle in the activity of the Serbian LC in all forms of its organization is necessary.

The LC must fight against those forces that are trying to substitute for democratic centralism with endless discussions, contrary arguments which paralyze action through the nonimplementation of decisions, and even through demands for consensus. The Communists' task is also to fight against those forces which are, without holding comprehensive discussions on essential questions concerning society and the party, trying to substitute for democratic centralism with bureaucratic centralism. Under the present circumstances the application of this principle does not mean the imposition of decisions, but rather a democratic way of formulating policies and a responsible way of implementing them.

An LC member cannot bear consequences for the publicly stated opinions in the LC organs or organizations, but is obliged to carry out the decision of the majority. In this way he is not deprived of the right—when the conditions as defined by the statute are ripe—to begin the initiative for the reexamination of this decision.

What was also stressed was the need for all organs and organizations to establish a practice of regularly assessing the implementation of adopted conclusions and agreed views, and on the basis that this sharpens accountability and ideopolitical differentiation. This is, as explained, the only way to remove those who are incompetent and irresponsible, and it is an opportunity to give a chance to creative and capable cadres.

The cadres who have not achieved any results cannot expect the LC membership, the workers class, and people to express their confidence in them.

Reportage on Kosovo Provincial LC Session

Expectations for Results Noted

AU1011214788 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 10 Nov 88

[Text] The Kosovo LC Provincial Committee will hold its session in Pristina tomorrow and will discuss, among

other things, the responsibility of the highest provincial party leadership for the situation in Kosovo, resignations, and cadre renewal. Here is Kosta Krajincanic:

[Krajincanic] Hardly any party meeting received such clear political guidelines as has been the case with the session that the Kosovo LC Provincial Committee will hold tomorrow. As for the problem of responsibility, unambiguous political stances were adopted long ago: from the 1st LCY Conference, the 17th LCY Central Committee plenum, to the joint session of the Presidiums of the Serbian LC Central Committee and the Kosovo LC Provincial Committee which was held in Belgrade at the start of this month.

It was pointed out at all these meetings that the provincial party leadership bears the greatest responsibility for the overall, extremely unfavorable situation in Kosovo. This assessment was made in a more specific way at the aforementioned joint session of the two Presidiums and in the conclusion it adopted that the individual responsibility of the members of the Presidium and Provincial Committee of the LC of Kosovo should be established as soon as possible. Moreover, on this occasion it was remarked that, above all, the presidents of the present and previous Kosovo LC Presidiums cannot avoid being taken to account. The conclusions adopted at this session also point out that all the other people who no longer enjoy the confidence of the people and of the LC grassroots should also step down from their posts.

It is hard to believe that another postponement or case of shrinking away from one's responsibility could occur after such explicit and obligatory political directives [words indistinct].

However, there is always something else. We are saying this not as an expression of a bad foreboding, but on the basis of experience over almost 8 years, as well as the experience of some of the most recent events.

Let us recall that an identical political stance was adopted in the platform on Kosovo as well. Immediately after the Kosovo counterrevolution broke out, however, this is what happened: Top people in Kosovo political life followed each other in their posts, peacefully and calmly awaiting the end of their term of office, while genocide against Serb and Montenegrin people raged throughout Kosovo, the number of emigrants increased, and Albanian nationalism and separatism intensified. The continuity of the so-called Kosovo policy was not interrupted for a moment—some personalities maintaining continuity would always remain at the political top. The endless indifference of the largest part of the Yugoslav public toward the Kosovo troubles and, until recently, the autonomist [autonomaski] policy of the former Vojvodina leadership, helped these people to maintain this policy.

The extent to which the continuity of the Kosovo political line is still strong could be seen recently when the Presidium of the LC provincial committee suggested that public criticism should be exercised as a party measure because of its responsibility for all the horror taking place in Kosovo.

In the light of all such circumstances, the session tomorrow has two equally important tasks. First: It should expel from the leading team all those individuals who championed barren political continuity over a longer period, and second, it should replace them with people who enjoy real confidence, both among the people and among the LC grassroots. We saw that there are such people at recent political meetings, where they spoke from positions that essentially differed from those held by former powerful Kosovo people.

One usually says that if a task is not fulfilled the consequences will be unforeseeable. It seems to us that this time they will be very foreseeable. Kosovo's sufferings have become unbearable and patience has grown very worn, so if the session has an undesirable outcome, the consequences can easily be foreseen. We hope that this will not happen.

Session Postponed

AU1111161488 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 11 Nov 88

[Text] The session of the Kosovo LC Provincial Committee which, as we know, was expected to be held today, was postponed almost at the last moment. Here is Milivoje Mihajlovic reporting from Pristina:

[Mihajlovic] There is still no official information on last night's session of the Kosovo LC Provincial Committee Presidium. The only thing known is that the session lasted until this morning and that some members of the Central Committees of the LCY and the LC of Serbia participated in it.

The reason for postponing the session most probably lies in the lack of preparation for it. Presidiums of communal LC committees met 2 days ago behind closed doors and discussed the responsibility of the highest provincial party forum and of its individual members. Reports were leaked to the public that only the Presidiums of the communal committees of Zubin Potok, Leposavic, and Pristina accepted the resignations tendered by four members and the secretary of the provincial LC committee, and that they also demanded that Azem Vlasi and Kacusa Jasari, former and current Kosovo party leaders, be taken to account. Other communes extended support to the leadership, which was to be expected, for in this way communal leaderships thus extended support for themselves, too.

Probably bearing such a relation of forces in mind, the Presidium postponed the committee session and thereby avoided a complete polarization along national lines

which would certainly have occurred at the session scheduled for today. One should remember that an analysis of the responsibility of committee and Presidium members is being prepared by the provincial committee. Analysts of political events in the province are convinced that divisions in the provincial committee can be avoided if its Presidium offers a clear assessment of responsibility.

We have learned unofficially, albeit from reliable sources, that Azem Vlasi and Kacusa Jasari are not even considering offering their resignations.

Session Rescheduled for 17 Nov

AU1311164188 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0900 GMT 13 Nov 88

[Milivoje Mihaljovic report from the "Sunday at 10" program]

[Text] How difficult it often is to find the truth in the real flood of information from Kosovo is illustrated by last week's events on the province's political scene.

The (?critical) postponement of the Kosovo LC Provincial Committee session was only explained with a dull statement. A session of the Kosovo LC Provincial Committee Presidium which was held to make final preparations for the session, which was supposed to mark an end to the current wrong policy in Kosovo, lasted all night. This session was also attended by Radisa Gacic and Slobodan Filipovic, members of the LCY Central Committee's working group, and Dusan Milic and Milomir Minic, members of the Serbian LC Central Committee's working group.

It was leaked from the Presidium's marathon session that Azem Vlasi and Kacusa Jasari, former and current presidents of the Kosovo LC Provincial Committee Presidium, expressed readiness to leave their posts by Monday. Kacusa Jasari would resign from her post as the president of the Presidium, but would remain a member of the Presidium. Azem Vlasi would resign his membership in the Presidium.

It has also been learned that Ali Sukrija and Husamedin Azemi were mentioned as possible candidates for the post of future president of the highest party forum in Kosovo. These dilemmas will be resolved at the session of the provincial committee which is, as we have unofficially learned, scheduled for 17 November.

Vlasi Refutes Resignation Claim

LD1311133588 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1050 GMT 13 Nov 88

[Excerpts] Pristina, 13 Nov (TANJUG)—Last night, Azem Vlasi, member of the Kosovo LC Provincial Committee Presidium, refuted on Pristina television the news that he had tendered his resignation at the session of the Kosovo LC Provincial Committee Presidium 2 days ago and that he would resign at all.

According to the announcement on Pristina television's third news bulletin of the day, Vlasi telephoned the editorial office in order to refute the statement made by Belgrade television correspondent Milisav Milic, who said in Belgrade television's second daily bulletin that Vlasi would tender his resignation at the next session of the Kosovo LC Provincial Committee Presidium. Pristina television announced that Vlasi had asked its editorial office to define the statement as misinformation and to convey his lack of intention to resign.

Vlasi asked Pristina television to state the following: "I did not announce my resignation to the Kosovo LC Provincial Committee Presidium. I said that the Kosovo LC Provincial Committee, like any other LC organization, according to regular procedure, may discuss me or any other member of the Presidium, according to regular procedure and on the basis of the LC Statute.

It is unusual that Azem Vlasi should telephone Pristina television to refute the Belgrade television statement. A question has arisen here as to a possible accidental mistake.

Announcements weighing the pros and cons concerning the resignations of Azem Vlasi and Kacusa Jasari were carried yesterday by a number of newspapers without any official reaction from the Kosovo LC Provincial Committee. Vlasi's reaction to this was only heard last night on Pristina television's third daily news bulletin following the announcement by Belgrade television of the resignations. [passage omitted]

The Kosovo LC Provincial Committee Presidium working group is expected to continue its work tomorrow in order to complete, as was assessed, the noncritical report on the responsibility of the Kosovo LC Provincial Committee Presidium, of which part had been submitted at the last session of this body. The Kosovo LC Provincial Committee Presidium may be held on Tuesday, and the stands of this body on the responsibility of its members Kacusa Jasari and Azem Vlasi should finally be established on this occasion. Journalist were not given an official date for the Kosovo LC Provincial Committee session, but we have learned that it was convened for Thursday, 17 November.

Possible New Kosovo Leaders Viewed

LD1311180488 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1623 GMT 13 Nov 88

[Excerpts] Pristina, Nov 13 (TANJUG)—Azem Vlasi, member of the League of Communists of Kosovo Provincial Committee Presidency and until this spring president of the forum, denied on Pristina television late last night reports that he had offered to resign at last week's closed session of the party Presidency.

Vlasi denied Belgrade television claims on Saturday night that he would submit his resignation at the next session of the Kosovo party Presidency scheduled for Tuesday, November 15, as learned unofficially.

Several Yugoslav newspapers on Saturday also announced the probable withdrawal of Vlasi and Kacusa Jasari, who succeeded him as head of the Kosovo party.

As learned from well-informed sources in Pristina, Jasari said after last Thursday's exhausting debate in the Kosovo party Presidency that the resignations were not in question but asked for argumanted justifications. [passage omitted]

Prominent Yugoslav party official Ali Sukrija and current president of the party organization of Kosovo's capital Pristina Husamedin Azemi were the two most frequently mentioned candidates for the new head of the Kosovo party at the closed session of the provincial party leadership, the Yugoslav daily BORBA reported yesterday.

Potrc on Inequality Among SFRY Peoples

LD1311175188 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1315 GMT 13 Nov 88

[Text] Belgrade, November 13 (TANJUG)—In an interview carried by the Belgrade newspaper BORBA in its double issue this weekend, Miran Potrc, president of the Assembly of Slovenia, Yugoslavia's most developed constituent republic, emphasises that republic is the fundamental bearer of sovereignty within Yugoslavia as a federation. Its republics are agreed to devolve only some definite functions upon the federation. The republic is entitled to all the rest of functions and nobody can deprive it of such rights.

A federation is a voluntary community of its peoples and nationalities and their right is to opt for which functions they are to exercise together within their federation and which other functions they want to keep for themselves.

The president of Slovenia's parliament also comes out in favour of a practice, unknown so far in the Yugoslav federation, according to which a number of republics and provinces, for the purpose of working in their own interests, could form a group to draw up joint laws to be applied only in the territories of those federal units which accept them.

Responding to the remark that this would be like a confederation in which open would be constitutional and legal possibilities to have all citizens not treated in the same way, Potrc says that even now, in many things, all the Yugoslav citizens are not treated on equal terms. He makes mention of differences in their economic positions and in exercising their political rights. In view of the now existing practice, it is absolutely unrealistic to believe that all of them will be in the same position by way of the only one and same Constitution.

Commenting on constitutional changes which should be proclaimed on November 29, the nation's republic day, Potrc says that their long-term implementation will make all win in Yugoslavia.

In his opinion, nevertheless, missed has been an opportunity for solving in a much more sweeping way by Constitution the matters concerning the rights and freedoms going to citizens, individuals and political personalities, various forms of their getting organised in self-management ways, matters of the position of socio-political communities within the system and others.

Potrc transmits Slovenia's stand that the functions of the federation should not be made stronger, also stating precisely that there is no "wish with the Slovenes and in Slovenia's policies for strengthening functions and federation."

Commenting on the cases of allegedly boycotting Slovenia-made goods by some buyers in Yugoslavia's individual towns and parts (a thing about which leading Yugoslav newspapers wrote past week), Potrc says that, if Slovenia-made goods are not being purchased by individuals, then this is their own business. Potrc adds, however, that, if enterprises choose to do so or if this becomes a matter of policy in some circles, then, he emphasises, such a policy has to be re-examined and thinking must start about one's own attitude towards the Yugoslav common market, towards Yugoslavia.

If policies start putting obstacles in the way of the circulation of goods, then a spade should be called a spade, and state that such policies, in fact, are breaking Yugoslavia, Miran Potrc says in conclusion.

Slovene SAWP Discusses Equality of Languages

LD1211141088 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1706 GMT 11 Nov 88

[Excerpts] Ljubljana, 11 Nov (TANJUG)—The central topic of today's Slovene SAWP Republican Conference Presidium session is the equality of Yugoslav languages in theory and in practice. Joze Toporisic spoke about the Slovene language, stressing that in practice the equality of the language is restricted and that only the principle that a language has more rights in relation to the greater number of people speaking it, is implemented. [passage omitted]

Joze Smole briefed the Slovene SAWP Republican Conference Presidium on the stands set out during the yesterday's meeting between the Slovene political leadership and representatives of the Federal Secretariat for National Defense. He stressed especially that Colonel General Veljko Kadijevic had authorized him to quote these stands. According to Smole, Kadijevic said that written orders in the Slovene language will be introduced immediately in all barracks and military installations in the SR of Slovenia, and that it was a mistake that this

had not yet been done. The principle that the written oath for Slovene servicemen should be in their mother tongue will be complied with consistently. NARODNA ARMIJA and FRONT will soon start publishing in the Slovene language, and Army officers serving in Slovenia will be activley recommended to learn the Slovene language. [passage omitted]

The Slovene SAWP Republican Conference Presidium endorsed the initiative by the Presidency of the Slovene SR to set in train the constitutional dispute on the law and sublaw on the use of languages before military tribunals. At the same time the view is that there is no point in starting the constitutional dispute about whether the Slovene language in Yugoslavia is or is not equal, because the Constitution has accurately defined this point. Instead, one should resolutely work for consistent compliance with the equality of the languages. The regulation on the use of the languages in military tribunals, it was said, proved to be anticonstitutional.

It was also decided that the SAWP should recommend that all those appearing before federal organs where simultaneous interpretation has been introduced should speak in Slovene. The only outstanding question is what to do in the working bodies where simultaneous interpretation has not been introduced. [passage omitted]

Slovene Writers Urge Referendum on Constitution

AU1011125988 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 8 Nov 88 p 3

[S. Gajevic report: "Writers Are Wrong"]

[Text] Ljubljana, 7 Nov—The claims that the adoption of the amendments to the SFRY Constitution will destroy the constitutional state sovereignty of the Slovene people and that they negate Slovenia's sovereignty in a concealed manner, were rejected as one-sided and unobjective.

With this statement at a news conference today, Miran Potrc, president of the Slovene Assembly and the the Slovene Assembly Constitutional Commission, rejected some claims presented to the Slovene public over the last few days. What happened was that after the Slovene Assembly had decided that there is no further reason to hold a referendum in Slovenia on changes to the SFRY Constitution, considering that an agreement on constitutional amendments had been reached, the public was presented with a contrary statement made by Dr Petar Jambrek and the Slovene Writers Society. In contrast to the Slovene Assembly, Dr Jambrek and Slovene writers claim that the amendments to the SFRY Constitution threaten the sovereignty of Slovenia and that they should not be accepted, which is to say that a referendum on this issue should be held in Slovenia.

At today's news conference in the Slovene Assembly—which was attended, apart from Miran Potrc, by the members of the Slovene Assembly Constitutional Commission—the claims that the draft amendments mean a constitutional and political turnabout toward greater centralization and that the Slovene representatives in the Federal Constitutional Commission did not act in accordance with the views of the Slovene Assembly were also rejected. At the news conference in the Assembly building, it was also said that there is no reason to believe that the adoption of the draft amendments will fundamentally change relations in the federation.

Potrc recalled that all the proposals made by the Slovene Assembly were accepted and that during the process of finding an agreement on amendments, all the proposals that lacked accord were scrapped. It is not right to claim, Potrc said, that the delegates of the Slovene Assembly and the Slovene public were not kept fully informed during the work on constitutional changes. The public should know that the Slovene Assembly Constitutional Commission had evaluated every argument and that no proposal was adopted through a majority vote—all the proposals were unanimously adopted by the Slovene Assembly Constitutional Commission, Potrc stressed. In addition, two members of the Slovene Writers Society were members of the Slovene Assembly Constitutional Commission.

Replying to the remarks made by the Slovene Writers Society, which claims that 20 points contained in the draft amendments are not acceptable, Potrc said that 12 points have nothing to do with centralization, and that 6 other points, which Slovene writers regard as unacceptable, were only taken from the present Constitution. This indicates, Potrc said, a lack of knowledge about the present Constitution, which could be one of the reasons for making incorrect claims.

As Miran Potrc said today, Slovenia will take all necessary measures to properly acquaint the public with the legal aspect of the issue and in this way remove possible misunderstandings. The Slovene Assembly Constitutional Commission formulated a detailed proposal for the procedure to reach agreement on the text of the draft amendments. It is clear from this proposal that all the Slovene Assembly's views were respected in the procedure for reaching an agreement on the amendment.

Vojvodina LC Body Elects President, Secretary

AU1411120188 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1100 GMT 14 Nov 88

[Text] Bosko Kovacevic has been elected president of the Presidium and Miodrag Koprivica secretary at the session of the Vojvodina LC Provincial Committee. The president and secretary of the provincial committee Presidium were elected after consultations with the Presidiums of LC communal committees. Out of 50 communal committees, 45 (?have sent in their opinions) to date. The election of Kovacevic and Koprivica was supported by 35 Presidiums of LC communal committees in Vojvodina.